

ZOROASTRIAN PROBLEMS
IN THE
NINTH-CENTURY BOOKS

RATANBAI KATRAK LECTURES

BY
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PREFACE

THE following five books are dated in the ninth century:

1. Nāmakiha of Manuščihr dated 250 A.Y. (= 881 A.D.).
2. Dāstastān ī dēnik of Manuščihr.
3. Vičitakihā of Zātspram, brother of Manuščihr.
4. Bundahišn. In GrBd 237. 14 f. Zātspram is named as a contemporary.
5. Dēnkart of Āturpāt ī Farraṣ^zzātān and his continuator Āturpāt ī Aṣmētān.

Supplementary to these, largely in the same style, but not certainly dated, are many short texts, used for the lectures equally with the above five books, of which the chief are:

1. Pahlavi Texts, edited by Jamasp-Asana, Draxt ī asōrik, Apyātkār ī Zarērān, Husrau ut rētak, and others.
2. Rivāyat of the Dāstastān ī dēnik.
3. Frahang ī Pahlavik and Frahang ī oim.
4. Commentaries on the Avestan texts.
5. Dāstastān ī mēnōk ī xrat.
6. Kārnāmak ī Artaxšahr ī Pāpakān.
7. Pandnāmak.
8. Artāy Virāz nāmak.
9. Gižastak Abālyh.
10. Šahrīhā ī ērān.
11. Mātikān ī hazār dāstastān.
12. Škand-gumānik vičār.

These form the main basis of the Lectures, but the Avesta is inseparable from these texts; each is indispensable for the understanding of the other.

I desire to express my sense of the munificence of the Founder of this decennial Lectureship (1922) and of the honour which the invitation of the University of Oxford conferred upon me. A few words should be said to explain the delay between the delivery of the Lectures and the present time. In 1936 I was invited to the Chair of Sanskrit in Cambridge. My new duties forced me to turn entirely from Zoroastrian studies and I was unable to give time to finish the Lectures for the press. In 1939 by putting aside all else I at last revised the manuscript. As far as possible an attempt was made to use the more recent books but it is possible that some were overlooked. The revision was considerable. The manuscript was

sent to be printed in August 1939. The succeeding three years of the printing have yielded the Addenda.

In taking leave of Zoroastrian studies I may confess to mingled feelings, a sense of regret at leaving so many problems still to be solved, and also a feeling of relief at leaving a subject of research where the little that is surely known allows so large a room for imagination, at times somewhat uneasily controlled. There is much still to be done in this field and I trust that occasionally my Iranian work in the domain of Khotanese to which I have turned will still illuminate some older Iranian problem. I have been intensely interested in things Persian.

I should like here to record my sense of satisfaction and pleasure, during this period of delay, in the opportunity to discuss many Zoroastrian problems with my friend, R. C. Zaehner, who came to read with me in 1936. He has already shown promise of carrying farther the work which I am now giving up.

I have also in particular to thank Mr. Anklesaria for permission, conveyed in a letter of Mr. Dhabhar, to use the full text of Zātspram.

For the patient and accurate work of the Oxford University Press in dealing with a troublesome text I wish to express both thanks and admiration.

H. W. B.

CAMBRIDGE, 1942

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I

FARRAH

IT is proposed in the first two lectures to examine the meaning of a term of importance for the understanding of the beliefs embodied in the Zoroastrian books of the ninth century A.D. with which these lectures are to be chiefly concerned. It has equal or perhaps more importance for Avestan studies. This term, already very familiar as the object of numerous researches and casual references, is in the Middle Persian¹ language known in the form *farrah*, whence the title of this lecture. In the Avesta it is found in the form *χ^oarənō*, that is, a representative of an Old Iranian² word *hvarnah-*. In the Achaemenid inscriptions it has the form *farnah-* as in *Vindafarnā*, transcribed in Elamite *min-tu-par-na*, and with *par-na-* in the Akkadian text. In Greek sources such names of Persians as *Ἰντραφέρνης*, *Ἀρταφέρνης*, and *Φαρναδάτης* contain the same term. In still earlier Mesopotamian documents the word appears as *pa-ar-nu* and *par-na*,³ and as *prn* in Old

¹ Middle Persian will be used comprehensively for the language of Zoroastrian books and of Sasanian inscriptions in the southern, Pārsik, script and for the corresponding dialect of the Manichean texts from Central Asia; Middle Parthian for the language of the Sasanian inscriptions in the northern, Pahlavik, script, and the corresponding Pahlavānīy language of the Manichean texts, on which we have now the sketch in A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 1939. The word Pahlavi where it occurs will be restricted to Zoroastrian books in the Uzdārišn system of orthography.

² Old Iranian is used to refer to forms of words restored to the approximate form of the words of about the sixth century B.C., on linguistic evidence in the Avesta itself and in Old Persian inscriptions, besides Old Iranian elements preserved in other sources, notably the Akkadian, Assyrian, Elamite, Aramaic, and Greek.

³ Discussions can be found in Ed. Meyer, 'Die ältesten datierten Zeugnisse der iranischen Sprache', *Zeits. f. Vergl. Sprachforschung*, 1909, more recently Eilers, *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, 9. 332 f. The claim made by F. W. König in *Relief und Inschrift des Königs Darius I. am Felsen von Bagistan* (1938), p. 80, that O.Pers. *farnah* is a Hittite word seems without basis. I notice that Morgenstierne has rejected the claim, *Acta Or.* 17 (1938), 237. The semantic connexion of *hvarnah-* and *farnah-* is certain and the phonetic connexion is easily understood. Replacement of initial *hv* by *f* is an attested phonetic change, of which the New Iranian dialects of Khūri (Iwanow, *JRAS*, 1926, 425; *Acta Or.* 8 (1930), 55) in such words as *for* 'sister', *for* 'sun', *fer-*, *for-* 'to eat', *foft* 'slept', and of Sivandī in *fetén* 'to sleep', *fōrdén* 'to eat', *fārm* 'sleep' are examples on Iranian soil (W. Geiger, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* i. 2. 387; Benveniste, *Bull. Soc.*

Egyptian in the name *prn̄dd*, *prntw* **farnadāta*.¹ In the Armenian books we find *p'ark'*, and in names *xoʀoh*, *xoʀox*² and in an older form the word survived in the Georgian name *P'arnavaz-i*. It is still found in familiar use in Ossetic *farn* and N.Pers. *farr* and *xurrah*. I shall have occasion to quote it later from still other sources, but this will for the present suffice to define the term to which the following discussion is to be devoted.

It has seemed desirable to develop the argument gradually, permitting, with only brief commentary grouping the references, the texts to speak for themselves. For this reason the views which have been expressed in regard to *hvarnah* by so many scholars in earlier studies are reserved for a brief summary in a list at the end. It would appear that in all recent discussions an etymology has largely influenced the interpretation, an etymology admitted often without question, yet likely to be incorrect and contrary to a considerable amount of evidence. In general, too, in Zoroastrian studies it would seem that often delicate nuances of thought have been obliterated by hasty identifications and substitutions, and the present problem has clearly been affected by this procedure. It will be seen that a purely secondary phase has probably been taken as the primary with an inversion of the historical development of meaning.

It will make the treatment clearer if it is stated in anticipation that the original primary meaning of *hvarnah* seems to have been 'a thing obtained or desired', thence 'a good thing, a desirable thing, possessions, good things'. It was therefore a concrete expression concerned with this earthly world. Indeed, even in a very late period of Zoroastrian thought a Zoroastrian writer could render Mid.Pers. *xʷarrah* by the N.Pers. *xʷāsta* 'possessions, property' as in the Parsi-Persian rendering of the *Dāstān ī Mēnōk ī xrat*.³

Ling. 31 (1931, 73). It is familiar in the English dialectal *far* 'where', *fite* 'white', *fa* 'who', *fat* 'what' (Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, s.vv.). Even without the presence of *h* initial *w-* was replaced in Old Irish by *f-*: *fer* 'man' represents the Old Celtic **wiro-*. There can indeed be no doubt that *farnah* is a modification of *hvarnah*.

¹ Spiegelberg, 'Drei demotische Schreiben aus der Korrespondenz des Pherendates, des Satrapen Darius' I., mit den Chnum-Priestern von Elephantine', *SBAW*, 1928, 604-22.

² Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 254, 43.

³ West, *Mainyo i Khard*, p. 167. As to the title of this book, I should say

These desired things can be bestowed as a gift. The acquisition of them places the possessor in a state of prosperity and welfare. This state can then be expressed by the same word *hvarnah* in an abstract sense. We may then render *hvarnah* simply by 'welfare, well-being', or 'fortune', equally as well as by the concrete 'good things'.

Since it is desirable to follow an historical order in treating of this word, we should begin with the Avesta. There the two meanings 'good things' and 'good fortune' are often to be found. It may be noted at once that the word was specialized in a good sense, which could be emphasized by adding the word *vahu* 'good', but that it could by use of the prefix *duš-* 'bad' denote also the opposite. But that was by no means the end of the semantic evolution in the Avesta. It will be well, however, first to illustrate these meanings. If they are once clearly recognized, it is, I think, simple to understand the whole development of meaning.

There is a fine passage in the Art Yašt (Yašt 17) with which all readers of the Avesta are well acquainted. Art herself, whose name is written in Zoroastrian Mid.Pers. 'lt 𐭠𐭣𐭥, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 in GrBd 24.15, 176.10 (the Paris MS. agrees with DH) and in a form transcribed from the Avestan nom. sing. 'ryš, 'hryš, 'šyš, **ahriš*, *ašiš*, in Skt. *arśiś*, in N.Pers. 𐭠𐭣𐭥, *ard*,¹ and in Avestan MSS. is written *aši-* (and perhaps *arəti-* in Pursišnīhā 39 *ā.rəitīm*), is named in the Yašt

that I now adopt after an earlier vagary the reading *mēnōk ī xrat*, since I understand that it refers to an invisible being forming a hypostasis of 'understanding'. One can refer for the use of *mēnōk* to the GrBd 166. 15 *mēnōk-ē apāk mīhr*, 175. 6 *dahmān āfrīn ān mēnōk*, 179. 15 *mēnōk ī rāstīh*, 180. 11 *mēnōk ī gāsān*. The adj. *mēnōk* is here used as a substantive. The view that *mēnōk* is in this title the adj. (*mēnōk ī xrat* is rendered by the Skt., based on the Pāzand, *paralokiyā buddhih*) is proposed by Nyberg, JA, 1929, 1. 242 f., but I cannot accept the explanation of the final *y* of *mynwgy*, as an adj. suffix. Other cases of *mēnōk* are found in *Dāstān mēn. xrat* 42. 8 *mēnōk ī rāstīh*, 9 *mēnōk ī spāsdārīh*, 10 *mēnōk ī bavandak-mēnišnīh*, 11 *mēnōk ī rātīh*, 12 *mēnōk ī patmān*, 13 *mēnōk ī brēh*, *mēnōk ī tuṣṣākīh*. Here, too, the Pāzand has *i* but the Skt. the adj. *śūnyacārīn-*. Different is *Zātspram* 1. 9 (= K 35, 234 r 14) *ōhrmazd pat mēnōk[y]-xratīh dīt* 'Öhrmazd saw by his spiritual wisdom'.

¹ In Manichean Mid.Pers. 'yrd, Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, ii. 14; in Sogdian, with the epithet *vahvōi*, 𐭠𐭣𐭥 **ard-wax*, in Sogdian script 'rtwv, and Chorasmian 𐭠𐭣𐭥 **arts-waxi* see Henning, 'Zum soghdischen Kalender', *Orientalia*, 1939; Freiman, *Sogdijskij rukopisnyj dokument astrologičeskogo soderžanija*, *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1938. These forms will occupy us again later.

dedicated to her from O.Iran. *ṛti-* 'the act of obtaining' and 'the thing obtained', for there can be no hesitation in recognizing that we are dealing with a derivative of the verb *ar-* 'to get',¹ known to us in other Indo-European languages as in the Greek *ἀρρωμα* 'I gain'. The Zoroastrian commentator was partly misled by the identity of sound of *art* (from O.Iran. *ṛti*, Av. *aši*) and *art* (from O. Iran. *ṛta*, Av. *aša*) to confound the two, hence the gloss in GrBd 37.1 where *Ašiš-vang* is interpreted as the *χ^oarraḥ i vahištik* <*i*> *artāyih* 'the paradisiacal fortune, the right', and also in GrBd. 176.10, where we find *art mēnōk* <*i*> *artāyih* 'Art is the invisible being of right', but he correctly interpreted *art* in Sanskrit as *lakṣmī* 'fortune', giving, for *ašiš vanuhi*, *aršiš-vanghanāmmi lakṣmī* 'fortune having the name *aršiš-vanḡha*'. Art (Av. *aši*) is therefore a hypothesis of good things bestowed. In the passage of Yašt 17. 6-14, to which I have referred, the rewards of offering *yasna* to her are expressed at length. It will be necessary to consider this in some detail, during the course of which some suggestions as to interpretation are offered, since it is such an excellent illustration of the poet's attitude to the world. It will be noticed that he has added a refrain by which he seeks to assure himself a share in the good things he describes. The text is as follows:

6 *aši srīre aši bānumaiti*

šāiti² vyāvaiti bānubyō
aši dābre vohu x^aarēnō
aēšqm narqm yōi³ hačahi
hubaoiḏi⁴ baodaite nmānem
yešhe nmāne ašiš vanuhi
sūra pāda nidaḡaite
āgrēmaiti⁵ darəyāi haχədrāi⁶

O Fortune, the beautiful, O Fortune, the brilliant,
rich, shining in splendours,
O Fortune giving good things
to those men whom thou attendest.
Well-scented is his house
in whose house the good Fortune
the giver of prosperity sets her feet,
friendly, seeking a long association.

¹ It will be noticed that the etymological interpretations to be found in the writings of Joh. Hertel have not seemed convincing. To some of those views one can only say with Al-Bairūnī when he rejected views in his days *واری السکوت* *India*, ed. Sachau, p. 257. It seems to be surely an *apantā*.

² *šāti* 'rich', interpreted by Sogd. *šāt* **šāt* and Khotanese *tsāta* 'rich'. Armenian *šat* 'much' will also belong here.

³ Either *yōi* is nom. plur. for acc. plur. or the acc. plur. *yēng*, *yq* has been replaced in oral transmission by **yē*, for which **yē* = *yaē-ča*, *yōi* (cf. *tē*, *tōi*, *taē-ča*) has been substituted.

⁴ *hubaoiḏi* with masc. -š in the neut. or the suffix -iḥ.

⁵ *āgrēmaiti* **ā-gramati* (with -š as in the nom. sing. fem. *dābriš*) from *ā-gram-*

⁶ For note see opposite page.

7 *tē narō xšaθra xšayente*

aš. baourva mīdātō .pitu [hubaoiḏi]

yahmya starətasča gātuš
anyāšča barəχdā avarəid

yōi hačahi ašiš vanuhi

Refrain

ušta bā yim hačahi

uta maqm upanhačahi
vouru .sarəda⁶ amavaiti

8 *aēšqm nmānā hviḏātā*
gaosurānho² hištante

those men are lords with possessions
with abundant stores, provisioned
[sweet-scented]
wherein is spread a couch
and there are other desirable
treasures
whom thou attendest, the good
Fortune.

Truly fortunate is he whom thou
attendest
and I also whom thou dost escort,
most mighty and powerful.

Their houses well-established
continue rich in cattle

'be excited towards', hence 'in a friendly way'. The base *gram-* 'be excited (in a hostile way)' is that attested in Av. *gram-*, *granta-*, Sogd. Manich. *yr'ndyy* 'verärger', *yr'nt'nt*; Buddh. *yr'ns*, *yr'nsn'y* pres. ptc., Henning, *Ein mani-chäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*, 644. The Indo-European base is given as **ghrem* by Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i. 655. For the meanings note IE. **kewp-*, Skt. *kop-*: *kup-* 'be agitated (of mountains), be excited in mind, be angry', Latin *cupio* 'desire', and O.Iran. *maud-*, Av. *maoḡana-* 'delighting', Mid.Pers. *mōḡak* 'lamentation'. For -*ati* cf. *raχšeyētiš* and *šyēiti-*.

¹ *vouru .sarəda* 'most mighty', an O.Iran. *varu-sarda-* 'exerting force widely', connecting the word *sarda-* with Av. *sardyo*. *vāχš* referring to the *maθrō spəntō* 'effective spell', and with Av. *sarədana-* Y 43. 14, Mid.Pers. *sy-*, which have been recently discussed by Stig Wikander in *Der arische Männerbund*, 1938, pp. 45 ff. in connexion with Old Indian *śardhas-*, *śardha-*.

² *gaosūra-* 'rich in cattle'. This is the longing equally of the Vedic poet who speaks frequently of the wealth (*rayi-*) consisting of cattle *gómantam rayim*, and of prosperity (*sūnftā*) assured by cattle (*gómati*). From this idea is derived the Avestan proper name *Gaorayana-* (Yašt 13. 118) 'having wealth in cattle'. The corresponding Mid.Pers. phrase is used in the Dēnkart of the mansion of Vištāspa (DkM 640. 3):

frāč rapēt amahraspandān

apar ō mām i vištāsp

i aβzār-gōspand i dūr

frāč-nāmik aβrāstišnīh i ēn dēn rād

Go forth, O Amahraspands

to the palace of Vištāsp,

rich in cattle, famed afar,

for the raising up of this faith.

Here *aβzār*, which elsewhere renders Av. *sūra-*, with *gōspand* will correspond to the Av. *gaosūra-*. In Y 65. 3 *dūr frāč-nāmik* renders Av. *dūrāt frasrūtqm*, with which is to be compared the Ap Nigāyīšn of Ardvīšūr (ZKA 34, § 4) *mas ān i ardvīšūr i dūr frāč-nāmik ku-š nām dūr giyāk šut ēstēt*. The word *aβrāstišnīh* occurs in DkM 365. 6 of the raising of a king to sovereignty (see below, P. 59).

⁶ Similarly in Yasna 60. 7: *paiti ašōišča vanhuyā darəyem haχma*.

*aš.paourvā¹ darəyō.upastāe
yōi hačahi ašiš vanuhi*

Refrain

9 *aēšqm gātava hištante
hustarata hupō.busta
hukarata barəziš.havantō
zaranyapaχšta.pādānhō
yōi hačahi ašiš vanuhi*

Refrain

10 *aēšqm vantānhō bāt
mainyānhō² paiti dānhēte
yōi srīra barəziš.havantō*

*mərəzymnā³ anku.pasəmna
frā gaošāvara sispimna
čabru.karana minuča zaranyō.
pisi
kađa nō avi ājasat nmānō.paitiš*

*kađa šāiti paitišama fryā paiti
tanvi
yōi hačahi ašiš vanuhi*

11 *aēšqm kaininō dānhēte
qymō.paidiš urvizō.maidyā
sraotarvō darəyō.anguštā
kahrpa avavatqm sraya
yabā diđayatqm zaošō
yōi hačahi ašiš vanuhi*

¹ It is possible that in an oral transmission *š.b* has been replaced by *š.p* so that the word would be the *aš.baourva-* of verse 7, but it would be equally possible to assume O.Iran. *parva-* 'abundance' from an IE. **plə-wō-*, having the same form as O.Iran. *parva-* 'front' from IE. **prə-wō-*. From the same base IE. *pel-* comes Greek *πλοῦτος* 'wealth'.

² *mainyānhō* being in form nom. plur. would suit rather *vantā-* 'beloved, wife', and could be explained as *manya-* 'expectant' reinforcing the *paiti* which already implies expectancy, but the phrase *yōi srīra barəziš.havantō*, if not misplaced, seems to require an antecedent noun, hence the explanation of *mainyānhō* (nom. plur. for acc. plur.) from *man-* 'to stay': *manya-* 'abode, couch (?)'.

³ *mərəzymna-*, if it is not a participle in *-amna-* (with *-a-* replaced by *-u-* in contact with *m*), could contain an O.Iran. *mṛzi-* component form of *mṛzu-* 'short', and a word *umna-* connected with *vab-*: *ub-* 'to weave'. The passive participle in Rgveda x. 69. 7 *agnih . . . nṛbhīr mṛjyāmānaḥ* 'fire . . . rubbed out by men' has the undeveloped meaning of 'rub'. Herzfeld, *Mélanges Franz Cumont*, p. 740, treats of *marz-*.

abundantly stocked to last for ever,
whom thou attendest, the good
Fortune.

Their couches continue
well-spread, well-perfumed,
well-fashioned, fitted with cushions,
with feet gold-adorned,
whom thou attendest, the good
Fortune.

Their wives surely
sit expectantly on diwans (?)
which are beautiful, fitted with
cushions,
polished (?), anklet-adorned,
richly adorned with ear-rings
four-cornered and with gold-inlaid
necklace,
When will the house's master come
to us?
When shall we rejoice joyously in
his beloved person?—
whom thou attendest, the good
Fortune.

Their daughters are seated
anklet on foot, tight-waisted,
fair-bodied, long-fingered,
in form with the beauty of such
as are a delight to the beholders,
whom thou attendest, the good
Fortune.

Refrain

12 *aēšqm aspānhō bayente¹
āsavō ravō.fraoθmanō
raom vāšəm vāšayante
mrātəm čarəma θanjayente
taχmam staotārem vazənti*

*āsu.aspəm darəzi.rəθəm
tiži.arštīm darəya.ārəštaēm
χšviwi.išūm parō.kəvidəm
vītārəm paskāt hamarəθəm
jantārəm parō dušmainyūm
yōi hačahi ašiš vanuhi*

Refrain

13 *aēšqm uštrānhō bayente
saēni.kaoša aš.mananha*

Their horses gallop,
swift, racing lightly,
they draw a swift car,
they drag at the tanned leather,
they convey the bold man, the
celebrator,
swift-horsed, strong-charioted,
sharp-speared, long-shafted,
swift-arrowed, shooting afar,
hunter in pursuit of the foe,
slayer in front of the enemy,
whom thou attendest, the good
Fortune.

Their camels move speedily
sharp-humped, eager,

¹ *bayente*, in 12 and 13, clearly expresses a good quality of horse and camel. It has been usual to explain from the verb *bay-* 'to fear', assuming a meaning 'cause fear', hardly suitable to the context. I should prefer to see in *bay-* a different word. The IE. base **dew-* 'go' in N.Pers. *davidan* 'to run', is known with various suffixes in O.Iran. as in Av. O.Pers. *dūra-* 'far', Av. *dūta-* 'messenger', *dūtya-* 'message' (Skt. *daviṣṭha-*, *dūra-*, *dūta-*, *dūtya-*) from IE. **dw-ē-*: *dwa-*; O.Pers. *duvaišta*, Av. *dbōišta-* 'longest', from IE. **dw-ē-*: *dwy-*; O.Iran. *dvan-*, Av. *dvqsa-*, *dvqnaya-* 'fly' (used of the *druž*, or of a bird), *bata-* 'winnowed', Munjāni *lvōn-*, Yidgha *lobān-*, Yāzgulāmi *devan-*, Šughni *devin-*, Bartangi *devōn-*, Iškāšmi *duvin-* 'to swing, winnow', Ormuṛi *ban-* 'throw, put', Wakhi *biin-* 'throw away, winnow', Yaghnābi *dvon-*, 'spring, run', Pašto *lwan-* 'scatter, disperse, strew' (see Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, i. 389, ii. 63; *Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, s.v. *lwastəl*, Zarubin, *Iran*, i. 152) from IE. **dw-en-*, Pašto *lwastəl* implies a secondary suffix in IE., namely **dw-en-d-*. Avestan has the base *dvan-* (in *dvqnaya-* and *bata-*) with both initial *dv-* (the unchanged O.Iran. form) and initial *b-*. Now Av. *bay-* may represent O.Iran. *dvāy-*, if *bay-* is written, like Av. *zay-* 'be born', Mid.Pers. N.Pers. *zāy-*, Skt. *jāy-*, with *-ay-* for older *-āy-*, from IE. **dw-en-ə-*: *dw-n-ə-* (as Skt. *tāyāte*, IE. **ten-ə-* beside **ten* in Skt. *tanoti*) or from IE. *dw-əy-*, of the type of Skt. *dhyāyati*. If Av. *bay-* has an old *-ā-*, then it may represent IE. **dw-ey-*. The meaning in the present passage would agree with the Yaghnābi *dvonāk* = Tajiki *vōxtan* 'run, spring' (H. Junker, *Yaghnobi-Studien*, 13). This suits the present context of *bayente*, where swiftness is stressed by the words *āsavō*, *āsu.aspəm* and *ravō.fraoθmanō*. We should note here also the verse of the Rgveda vii. 74. 4:

*āsvāso yē vām ūpa dāsūšo grhām
yuvām dīyanti bibhrataḥ
makṣūyūbhīr narā hāyebhīr āsvinā
ā devā yātām asmayū*

with the horses which gallop bearing
you both to the worshipper's house,
the swift-yoked steeds, O men,
Aśvins, gods, come to seek us.

Here in *dīyanti* is the verb which is used also of birds as in v. 74. 9 *arvācinā vīcetasā vibhīḥ syenēvadīyatam* 'fly hither, O wise (Aśvins), as two eagles with the birds'.

that this *hvarnah* was his in return for *yasna*, worship, duly performed.

This same primary meaning of *hvarnah* must then, I think, be found in the many passages where *hvarnah* is associated with words signifying 'riches', 'possessions', 'good things', or is mentioned as a 'gift'. It is well known that, if the gods are deemed the source of wealth, they are also called givers or distributors, as their frequent Avestan epithets of *dātar-*, fem. *dāθri-*, 'giver', *baya-* 'distributor' and the like, attest equally for the old Iranian religion, but they themselves are naturally believed to possess the riches which they bestow. A good example can be quoted from the Buddhist text, the *Suvarṇa-bhāsa sūtra* (ed. Nobel, p. 115) in the third chapter, the *Śrī-parivarta*, where of *Śrī*, the goddess of fortune, it is said *teṣāṃ ca mahatīm śrīyaṃ kariṣyati* 'and she will make for them a great fortune (*śrī*)'.

Such a passage as the following in the *Mihr Yašt* (10. 108) predicates this of Mithra:

kahmāi raēšča x^oarənasča
kahmāi tanvō drvatātəm
azəm bayšāni xšayamnō
kahmāi ištīm pouru. x^oāθrəm

On whom shall I, who possess them,
bestow riches, good things and on
whom health of body?

On whom shall I, who possess
them,

azəm bayšāni xšayamnō

bestow possessions giving abundant
ease?

kahmāi āsnaṃcī¹ frazaintīm
us apara barəzayeni

For whom shall I raise up
for the future noble offspring?

Here the collocation of *rayi-* and *hvarnah* is important. It was a familiar idea and the whole phrase recurs in the treatise on the art of polite letter-writing in Pahlavi Texts, *Nāmak-nipēsišn* 41: *pat raēšča. x^oarənasča. pat ēstišn i tanvō. drvatātəm* 'with riches and good things in maintenance of good health'.

We shall here no doubt think at once of such Rgvedic phrases as *rāyāḥ suvīrasya* (vii. 56. 15) 'wealth consisting in men' and the *gōmantam rayīm* 'wealth in cattle' already noted above, p. 5, beside the Avestan name *Gaorayana* (*Yašt* 13. 118).

¹ *āsna-* 'nobly born', representing, as proposed BSOS vi. 953, an O.Iran. *ā-zna-*, corresponds in meaning to Mid.Pers. *āzāt*, *āzātak*, Khotan. *āysāta-*, and Skt. *ājāni-* 'noble origin', *ājāneya-* adj. used of horses in the *Mahābhārata*; in Pali *ājāṇīya-* is used of horses and in a Prakrit form as a loan-word in Khotan. *āyāṇmī* Ch. 00274, 27 v 1 (facsimile in *Codices Khotanenses*, 1938).

The same association of *rayi-* and *hvarnah* is found in *Yasna* 60. 4 and here both words are in the plural form, used of the *Fravrtis*, the maintainers of right:

jamyqn iθra ašāunqm

May the good, prosperity-giving,
beneficent,

varuhāš sūrā¹ spəntā fravašayō
ašōiš baēšaza hačimnā

Fravrtis of the possessors of right
come hither, joined with the heal-
ing of Fortune to the

zəm. fraθanha dānu. drājanha
hvarə. barəzanha²

width of the earth, the length of
the rivers and the height of the
sun,

ištāe vanhanhqm

to give the possession of good
things,

paitištātāe ātaranqm
fraša. vaχšyāi³ rayqmča x^oarənan-
hqmča

for the overthrow of misfortunes,
the advancement of riches and
fortunes.

It is the same phrase which describes the wealth of every *yazata* 'worshipped being' in the common introductory formula:

ahe raya x^oarənanhača təm yazāi

For his riches and good things will
I worship him.

In *Yasna* 60. 2 we find similar collocations:

us nū aišhāi vīse jamyāt

May there now come to this com-
munity

ašmča xšāθrəmča savasča
x^oarənasča x^oāθrəmča

right,⁴ possessions, prosperity,
good fortune, and easeful life.

¹ *sūra* is noticed below, p. 15, when the commentators' understanding of *sūt* is touched on.

² This phrase is used in GrBd 175. 12 in reference to *nēvakih* 'good things': *zamik pahanād ut rōt drahanād x^oarēt bālād ān nēvakih bē rasēt* 'to the width of the earth, to the length of the rivers, to the height of the sun those good things attain', and here *nēvakih* expresses the same thought as *x^oarrah. ātaranqm* is rendered by *vattarikān*.

³ *vaχš-* 'increase' is an essential element in the conception of prosperity. It is expressed in Mid.Pers. by *apzūtān*. Here *fraša* is rather 'forward' (Pahl. Comm. *frāč*) than the O.Pers. *fraša-* 'wonderful'.

⁴ The possession of 'right' (Av. *aša*, O.Pers. *arta*, Mid.Pers. *ard*) refers to the proper attitude to the divine world and a contemporary code of ethics with recognition of law and loyalty, whereby the individual feels himself to be divinely approved and hence secure both now and after death. By having 'right' he may feel sure of the *savah-* 'prosperity' which belongs with 'right'. In such a context as here *aša* 'right' is adapted practically to the world and naturally can be associated with *x^oāθra*, the ideal life of contentment and comfort.

Later in the same prayer comes the entreaty:

mā yave imat̄ nmānem
χ^oāθravat̄ χ^oarənō frazahit̄
mā χ^oāθravaiti istiš
mā χ^oāθravaiti āsna frazaintiš

May it never abandon this house,
 good things joined to ease,
 possessions joined to ease,
 noble offspring joined to ease.

The *hvarnah* of the house appears also in a later text in the Pahlavi Rivāyat, cap. 19 (p. 76), where we read:

giyāk-ē paidāk ku
katak-χ^oatāy ut katak-bānūh
kaδ andar χānak bē mīrēnd
tar dar[y] bēron bē nē apāyēt
burtan ēē-š χ^oarrah ī χānak
[y] apāk bē šavēt

It is stated in one place that when
 the master and mistress die
 within a house they must not
 be borne out through the door
 because the fortune of the house
 will go out therewith.

Pārand, the hypostasis of 'abundance, wealth', the Av. *Pārəndi* (and in a different form Skt. *puram̐dhi*-) quite naturally receives the epithet which attributes *hvarnah* to her in GrBd 180. 8 *pur-χ^oarrah pārənd* 'Pārand abounding in *χ^oarrah*', and of her it is said 180. 9 *sūt dāt* 'she has given good things'.

Similarly we learn of the wealth of the moon in Nigāyīšn 3. 7:

yazāi mānham gaočībrəm bayəm
raēvantəm χ^oarənanuhantəm afnanu-
hantəm

I worship the moon, source of the
 ox, the distributor, rich, possess-
 ing good things, wealthy.

Here beside *hvarnah* we shall particularly notice *afnah* 'riches'.¹

This *afnah* is the *āpnas*- of the Vedas, of which the following verse (x. 36. 13) clearly shows the associations:

yé savitūh satyāsavasya višve
mitrāsya vratē vāruṇasya devdāh
té saubhagam̐ vīravad gómad āpno
dādhātana drāvīṇam̐ citrām̐ asmé

May you all, the gods who are
 subject to Savitar, whose incite-
 ment is sure, to Mitra and to
 Varuṇa, bestow on us good
 things consisting in men, wealth
 in cattle, and manifold posses-
 sions.

Note here too how *saubhaga*- 'good things' would suit well to represent Avestan *χ^oarənō*.

¹ The Zoroastrian commentator in GrBd 165. 10 went astray here under the influence of the accidental similarity of the sound of the initial syllable and rendered by *ābrōmand* 'cloudy'.

A different series appears in Yašt 14. 3:

ama vərəθra χ^oarənanha
yāna baēšaza

With power of offence, power of
 resistance, good things, favours,
 healing.

A similar association with healing occurs in Yašt 15. 56 when Vayu promises to his worshippers words of power, spells as we call them:

azəm tē vača framravāni
mazdaδāta χ^oarənahvanta baēšaza

I will pronounce for you spells
 Mazda-fashioned, joined to good
 things, giving healing.

In the Zoroastrian Sanskrit commentarial literature it is *lakṣmī* and *śrī*¹ which serve to render *hvarnah*. What they intended by *lakṣmī* can be understood by noting that Mid.Pers. *χ^oāstak* 'possessions' (itself translating Av. *isti*-) is translated by *lakṣmī*, and as noted above, p. 4, *lakṣmī* renders also Av. *aši*. Below we shall meet also (p. 23) the *rājalakṣmī* and *rājñām śrī* 'the royal fortune' rendering *kayān χ^oarrah*. This *rājalakṣmī*, Prakrit *rāya-lacchī* is familiar in Indian literature, and *śrī*, Prakrit *sirī*, is found alike in the sense of 'fortune' (*cancalā śrīh* 'unstable fortune') and 'prosperity'.

We have seen the use of *hvarnah* in the plural in Yasna 60. 4 *rayam̐ča χ^oarənanham̐ča*. This plural occurs perhaps in Yašt 14. 36, where an amulet from a bird's feather is described:

paourva hē nāmō baraiti
paourva χ^oarənā

First he gets obeisance for him,
 first he gets good things.

In Yašt 10. 27 (Mihr Yašt) also the plural may be intended:

paiti χ^oarənā vārayeiti

He keeps the good things safe,

unless we should here understand a compound *paiti.χ^oarənā* nom. sing. 'possessed of good things' with the use of *paiti* as in Av. *paiti.puθra*- and familiar later in Mid.Pers. *patmičaktar* 'more savoury' (Husrau ut rētak 23), *pt n'm* 'having the name' (inscription of Šāhpuhr I at Naqš i Rustam see Sprengling, *Am. Journal Sem. Lang. and Lit.* 53 (1937), 126 ff.; ZDMG 91 (1937), 652 ff.; Henning, BSOS ix. 846). But between *ā* and *ō* the oral transmission as embodied in the later texts is not sure.

¹ G. Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmī*, 1933, gives the Indian conception.

The only occurrence of *χ^oarənah* in the Gāthās is in Yasna 51. 18. It has at times, as in the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* and in Reichelt's *Avesta Reader*, been explained as an adjective, since other words in *-as* may serve, with shifted accent, as noun or adjective, which, however, is less certain for the suffix *-nas*. One should perhaps understand the text as follows:

<i>təm čistīm dājamāspō hvō.gvō istōiš</i>	That belief Jāmāspa Hvō.gva
<i>χ^oarənā</i>	chose, the good things of possession
<i>ašā vərənte tač χšabram mananō</i>	together with right, because
<i>vanhəuš vidō¹</i>	he sought to get that lordship of Vahu manah.

The *χ^oarənā* is then plural and used of the concrete possessions² which will accompany the acceptance of the faith (*čisti-*) and the possession of right. It would then belong with the other well-known expressions of interest in the possession of stallions, mares, camels, and cows (Yasna 44. 18 *dasā aspā aršnavaitiš uštrəmča*; Yasna 46. 19 *gāvā aži*).

A similar meaning of *hvarnah* seems to be found in Yašt 17. 22 when Art bestows on the handsome well-built Zoroaster (*srīrō³ hukarətō*):

<i>tamuye χ^oarənō</i>	For the body good things
<i>urunaēta darəyām havanhəm.</i>	and for the soul long happiness.

There is clearly a contrast between the good things of this life, that of the *tamu-* 'body', and of the non-corporeal *urvan* 'soul'.

In Yašt 14. 41 Vřθragna is the bestower of *hvarnah*:

<i>vərəθraynō avi imat nmānəm</i>	Vřθragna in this house preserves
<i>gaosurābyō χ^oarənō pairi.vərəna-</i>	the good things with wealth in
<i>vaiti.</i>	cattle.

This thought and the desire of prosperity and good fortune in the visible world, which meant the possession of wives and children, of horses, cows and camels, of houses, of gold and silver,

¹ *vidō* nom. sing., *vida-* representing the adj. with *-d-* suffix of the type discussed by Debrunner, 'Der Typus tudā im Altindischen', BSOS viii. 487 ff., to the verb *vaid-* 'obtain'.

² H. Lommel rendered 'das strahlende Glück (?)' and considered that Zoroaster had here given up the pagan meaning of the word, *Nachrichten Gesell. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1935. Reichelt, *Avesta Reader*, p. 204, has 'eminent in riches'.

³ *srīra* is used also of plants, Yašt 18. 6 *vīspanəm urvaranəm frāurustanəm srīranəm zairi.gaonanəm*.

dominate the minds of the worshippers of the *yazatas*. We may think also in the Indian tradition of such a prayer as Atharvaveda xix. 64. 2:

<i>tāthā tvām asmān vardhaya</i>	So increase thou us
<i>prajāyā ca dhānena ca</i>	with children and wealth.

In the Iranian tradition it is a condition indicated from different points of view by many words, in the Avesta by *šati-*, *savah-*, *saoka-*, *sūra-*, *maya-* (in *humaya-*), *vahu-*, *yāna-* (rendered *nēvakih* in Pahlavi), *išti-*, *hušiti*, *hušōiθaman-* (rendered by Pahlavi *χ^oārīh¹*), *χ^oābra*, *χ^oarənah-*, *baδra-* (in *hubaδra-*), *fradāti-* (rendered by Pahlavi *frahaxtišn* 'advancement, prosperity'), *āyapta-*, later by *patēχ^oih*, *nēvakih*, *vēhikān*, *vēh āpātih* (GrBd 165. 14), *aβzōn*, *aβzūt*, and *āsān*.²

A text of the Dēnkart (DkM 350. 20 ff.) sets out in detail the constituents of *sūt* 'good' and *zyān* 'ill'. On the one side to be accounted *sūt* are, among other things, light, joy, health, sight, activity as of a warrior (*rōšnih*, *urvāhm*, *druvistih*, *vēnākih*, *kārikih*), and the good (*sūt*) obtained by wisdom and right, sun, moon, stars, earth, water, plants, cattle, and men (*sūt i hač dānākih ut rāstih ut χ^oaršēt ut māh ut starān zamik āp ut urvar ut gōspand ut martōm*) with the rain and other good creations (*ut vārān apārik dahišn i vēh*), whereas on the other side, to be accounted *zyān* are darkness, fear, ill-health (?), blindness (*tārikih*, *bim*, *pīm*,³ *kōrih*), and the ill (*zyān*) arising from ignorance, falsehood, lack of rain, and other ill things (*zyān i hač adānih ut drōyih avārānih ut apārik vattarih*). We have met above, p. 5, the Av. *gaosūra-*, Pahlavi *aβzār-gōspand*, as an epithet of a wealthy man, rich in cattle. It

¹ The meaning of *χ^oārīh* can be recognized in such a contrast as DkM 234. 13 *χ^oārīh ut škōhīh* 'comfortable life and poverty' or in the happy future life when pain will have disappeared (Dd 36. 103): *kaδ . . . ān-ič i čēgōn kārt šafšēr ut varz ut sang ut tir bē ō tan rasēt ē-ē dart ut dušχ^oārīh nē* 'when . . . such as a knife, sword, club, stone, or arrow strikes the body, there will be no pain or disease'.

² So in such a place-name as *Erān-āsān-kart-kavāt*, Marquart, *Erānsāhr*, p. 22, cf. Herzfeld, AMI ix. 149. Add DkM 469. 9 *χ^oāstak i vēh frahaxtišnīk*; DkM 686. 7 *tuvānīkih ut škōhīh*; the gloss *pur-bōžīšn* (for Av. *pouru.baoχšna-*) *χ^oāstak kē nēvakih vas hačīš*; Dd 36. 23 *vālišn <i> dāmān*; ZKA 238. 21 *dātār ōhrmazd i χ^oāpar i āmurzitār i nēvakih-baxtār i dām-srāyēnitār*; ZKA 239. 14 *nēvak patēχ^oih ut nēvakih*; ZKA 259. 13 *vēš nēvakih ut sūt χ^oarrah χ^oārīh*; DkM 558. 3 *škōhīh ut anattānīh*; Dd 5. 6 *āsānīh ut χ^oārīh*.

³ *pīm* seems here to be contrasted with *druvistih* but perhaps it should rather be rendered 'pain', see on the word also R. C. Zaehner, BSOS ix. 105.

will be recalled too that Plutarch puts into the mouth of the chamberlain (θαλαμηπόλος) of Darius Codomannus after his defeat by Alexander the phrase τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν in reference to his 'former prosperity' (Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, 30).

It is of some importance in view of many recent studies to insist upon this practical non-mystical explanation of such words as *rayi*-, *χ^oarənah*-, *išti*-, *afnah*-, and the like, if we wish to understand the outlook of the period when the Avestan hymns were composed. A certain mysticism has crept into the interpretation and not least of *hvarnah*, which, as we shall see, the commentators do not confirm. Moreover, since we are here largely concerned with the ninth-century books, including with them the commentarial literature, it will be useful to illustrate this practical outlook of the Sasanian scholars by another interesting case. In Yasna 57. 21 is given a description of the palace of Srōš on the mountains of Harburz. The Pahlavi commentary reads:

srōš ī ahray ī hurust ī pērōzkar
kē ān mām pērōzkar hazār-stūn
vīnārt ēstēt
pat bālist apar buland pat harburz
apar
kē χ^oat-rōšn hač andar nēmak vistart
pēsīt hač kustaktar nēmak
ku hač kustak pat gōhr virāst ēstēt

Srōš devoted to right, well-grown, victorious, whose house, victorious, was built with a thousand pillars on the highest peak of Harburz which self-luminous is spread within and adorned on the sides, that is, it is equipped on the sides with precious stones.

The epithet *hvā.raoxšna*- which might easily have led to fancy has been rendered by *χ^oat-rōšn* 'self-luminous', but the commentator reasonably explains the word *pēsīt* 'adorned' by the presence of jewels on the walls which may have been assumed to be self-luminous.¹ In regard to *hvarnah* they are equally moderate, a happy example of moderation (*patmānak*), avoiding excess (*frēhbūtīh*), and deficiency (*apēbūtīh*), so often preached in Zoroastrian books.

If now this *patmānik* view of the primary meaning of *hvarnah*, as being 'good things', is held fast, it is possible to see the meaning of *hvarnah* in relation to the waters and the mountains. Riches and prosperity are the gift of the waters in a land of deserts. We can see the joy that the rains gave in the Avesta as in the later

¹ B. Laufer, *The Diamond*, 1915, 55 ff. discusses the Classical and Chinese opinions on the stones thought to emit light.

texts. When the rains came all the world was renewed. So we find in Vidēvdāt 21. 3:

vī.vārənti vī.vārāhu

When it rains everywhere with rains

nava āfš nava zd

there is new water, new earth,

nava urvarā nava baēzazd

new plants, new healing herbs.

The words of Manuščihr in the Dātastān ī dēnik (K 35, 199 v 7-11) are an amplification of such a view, setting out his thought of the well-being of the world:

patiš navak āp-īč ō urvarān
ut navak bēšazēnišnīh ō urvarān
ut navak vaxšīšn ut navak zargōnīh
ō zamīkān
yōšdāsrih ō gōspandān
ut navak zāyīšn ut navak hupēmāh[']¹
ō apārik dāmān
ut navak bām ut navak hugōnīh dahēt
patēχ^oīh ī gēhān sūt ut frahaxtišn ī
vēh dahišn apzāyēnēt

Thereby he gives new waters to the plants, and new sources of healing to the plants, and new growth and new greenness to the lands, purification to the cattle and new birth and new milk (?) to other creatures and new brilliance and new colours; he increases the prosperity of the world and the advancement of the good creation.

We must read the phrase of Yašt 8. 34 *awšdātəmča χ^oarəmə* (here the associate of *vātasča yō daršīš* 'the stormy wind') with this thought in mind. The 'riches created in the waters (or by the waters)' are one of the sources of man's well-being, his *hvarnah*.

I would propose to understand the *hvarnah* of the waters of Ardvī Sūrā Anāhitā in a similar way in Yašt 5. 96:

masō χšayete χ^oarənanhō
yaba vīspā imā āpō
yā zāmā paiti fratačinti
yā amavaiti fratačaiti

She possesses as great a mass of good as all these waters which flow forth over the earth, she who mightily flows forth.

The waters as they burst forth from the sea Varukrta (Yašt 13. 65) are charged with this same *hvarnah*:

āat yač āpō uzbarənte spitama
zarabūštra
zrayanhat hača vouru.kašāt
χ^oarənasča yač mazda.δātəm
āat frašūsənti uyrā ašāunəm frava-
šayō

When the waters burst forth, O Spitama Zoroaster, from the sea Varukrta and the Mazdā-fashioned *hvarnah*, then the mighty Fravrtis of the possessors of right go forth.

Here we must see a hypostasis of the rich fertility the waters

¹ Uncertain, perhaps *huvap-damīh[']* ?

bring to increase the good things of men. Below there will be reference to a legend of the *hvarnah* in the Varukṛta sea, p. 25.

Nor are we left to conjecture in the case of the mountains. In Yašt 19. 7, at the end of the catalogue of the mountains, the view, influenced by a feeling for man's importance, finds utterance:

yavaṭ amu aipi. āite garayō viṣastarō As much as the mountains extend
in their extension,
viṣpəm avat aipi draonō bažat all that he distributes as wealth¹
aḥaurunaēča rabaēštāiča for the priest, warrior,
vāstryāiča fšuyente farmer, and herdsman.

In the words of a later translator in GrBd 66. 15 this assumes the following form:

čēgōn gōṣēt ku As it is said, they extend
frāč ēstēnd pat sūr to serve as food
ō asrōnān aratēštārān vāstryōšān for priest, warriors, and peasants.

We can now understand the assertion of the Middle Persian text (Pahlavi Rivāyat 46) in the cosmogonic chapter:

ut-aš gōhr ī x^oarraḥ bē nikand And he set therein the substance
ut-aš kōfihā hač an gōhr bē rōdēnūt of the *x^oarraḥ* (good things) and
from that substance he made the
mountains grow.

The *hvarnah*, source of the good things of the mountains, is deposited therein from the time of the primal creation.

The view that good things come from the mountains is clear also in such an Avestan passage as Yasna 2. 14:

viṣpā garayō All the mountains
aša .x^oābrā pouru .x^oābrā possessed² of easeful life, abound-
ing therein.

The poet may have been a mountain-dweller. Certainly in the Mihr Yašt (10. 4) the poet shows a full appreciation of the good things of the hills in the land of the Aryas (*aryō. šayana*):

yahmya garayō barəzantō Wherein the lofty mountains
pouru .vāstrānō āfəntō full of pastures and waters
ḡātairō³ gave frādayən. make prosper grass for cattle.

¹ Assuming that O.Iran. *draunah-* had here, as in other passages, the same meaning as Skt. *drāviṇas-*. The commentator took it in the sense of *sūr* 'repast'.

² We may understand *aša-* as the participle O.Iran. *ṛta-* 'gotten'.

³ Scheffelowitz in ZDMG 57 (1903), 165 proposed to translate *ḡātari-* by 'grass, fodder', comparing Skt. *śāta-*, *śātana-* 'plucking'. Such a meaning is

The plant used for the *haoma*, a matter therefore of importance, also belonged to the hills (Yasna 10. 4):

haoma raose gara paiti O Haoma, thou growest on the
mountain.

The sun, source of growth and heat, the *x^oar tāpāk* 'blazing sun' of the Denkart (DkM 81. 3) is also a bestower of *hvarnah* 'good things' upon the earth, as in Yašt 6. 1:

hvarəxšaētəm aməšəm raēm The bright sun, immortal, wealthy,
aurvat .aspəm yazamaide swift-horsed we worship.
āat yač hvarə raoxšne tāpayeiti When the sun makes his brightness
shine,

āat yač hvarə raošō tāpayeiti when the sun makes his light shine,
hištanti mainyavānō yazatānō the invisible yazatas stand ready
satəmča hazarəmča a hundred and a thousand.
tač x^oarəno hanbārayeinti That good of his they gather up,
tač x^oarəno nīpārayeinti that good of his they store up,
tač x^oarəno bayšenti¹ that good of his they distribute
zəm paiti ahuraōdātəm over the Ahura-fashioned earth
fradātiča ašahe gaēvā to prosper the beings of right,
fradātiča ašahe tanuyē² and to prosper the body of right.

The *hvarnah* which is thus heaped upon the earth by the sun is here also directed to the same purpose, the advancement of the prosperity of the world. It is the things which produce *fradāti*, man's welfare in this world, and the *x^oarraḥ* from the luminaries is reasonably understood to be *nēvakih* 'good things' in the later texts.

We must now turn to consider the further history of the word *hvarnah*. It will be found that the meaning of *hvarnah* evolved

recommended by the context. No meaning was assigned to this word in Joh. Hertel, *Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen*, 7 (1931), p. 136 note 2. The Pahlavi rendering of part of this passage is *gar-ič ī pur-vāstr ī āpōmand ī buland* (ZKA 257. 14).

¹ This is the *x^oarraḥ-baxtārih* predicated of the moon in GrBd 164. 13, the *nēvakih-baxtārih* of Zurvān in GrBd 32. 7.

² The Pahlavi translation appears in the Zand ī x^oartak apistāk (ZKA 19) as follows:

x^oaršēt amarg rāyōmand arvandasṣ yazom
adək kač x^oaršēt rōšn tāpēt ku ul āyēt
adək kač x^oaršēt rōšn tāpēt advēnak
ēstēnd mēnōk yazd satakānak hazārakānak
ētōn ān x^oarraḥ ham barēnd ō ē giyāk
ut ān x^oarraḥ bē rānēnd pat ēv-kartih
ut ān x^oarraḥ bayšēnd pat zamik apar ōhrmazd-dāt
pat frādahišnīh (ī) ān ahrāyih gēhān
pat frādahišnīh (ī) ān ī ahrāyih tan ku be aβzāyāt

beyond the concrete thought of 'good things', 'riches', or the abstraction of 'prosperity' based on those riches.

Indeed, even between these two senses, 'riches' and 'prosperity', a decision is not always possible. It may even be that the speakers did not seek to distinguish the two. Hence a source of indecision as to the meaning in such compounds as *pouru.χ^oarənah-*, the later *pur-χ^oarrah*¹ or *aš.χ^oarənah-*, both meaning 'possessing great riches, or great prosperity', and in *χ^oarəmə.dā-*, *χ^oarəmazdā-* used of Mithra 'giving riches'. In proper names too decision is difficult, *frādat.χ^oarənah-* 'causing the increase of riches or fortune', *vidat.χ^oarənah-*, and in the O.Pers. name *Vindafarnā* *Ἰνταφέρνης* 'obtaining or possessing riches', like the *vindišn ī χ^oarrah* of DkM 791. 3, *haoma.χ^oarənah-* 'having riches from Haoma', *ušta.χ^oarənah-* 'having riches or fortune according to one's wishes', and the simple adjective *χ^oarənahwant-* 'possessing riches', *ātərə.χ^oarənah-* 'whose riches or fortune is from Fire', which will recur below, p. 44. Equivalents of such phrases will be noted in later texts in the sequel.

Not only can *hvarnah* be a gift, but it can also be taken away. So in GrBd 40. 8 ff. the demoness, the *feh*, the harlot of the invisible world, in seeking to encourage *Ganāk² mēnōk* speaks to him as follows:

*kumīšn ī man rād zivand(ak)ih
nē apāyēt ut-šan χ^oarrah bē*

Because of my activity he will not
keep life, and I will take away

¹ As in DkM 324. 8-9 *hač yazdik pur-χ^oarrahīh ī pityarak andar gēhān škastakīh ut kam-zōrih* 'from the abundant good of the yazds whose opposite in the world is defeat and weakness'.

² This frequently discussed word *𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌* was considered in BSOS vii. 755 ff., where in correlation with its opposite *𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌* *spēnāk* it was proposed to recognize in the suffix the O.Iran. *-āka-* which serves in Mid.Pers., Mid.Parth., and Khotanese to express an agent. A verb *spēn-* seems to occur in Zātspram 32. 1 *ut-aš bandihēt pat rāstīh ī dārēt pat sūt spēnēt* *𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎 𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬌 𐬀𐬎𐬌* *an advenak dānišn tuvān nērōkīh ut masīh χ^oēškārīh ō ān ī avē ruvān patvandēnd ut-aš pat-ič mēnōk hambrahmakīh patiš bavēnd*.

This context with *sūt* makes the word *spēn-* certain here, whereas DkM 674. 15 has, if the text is correct, *𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌* *savēnēt* in a similar context with *sūtōmand* (quoted in BSOS vii. 285 f.). Hence *spēnāk* 'benefiting' is satisfactorily explained. In the antonym *𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌* I should therefore prefer also to recognize the same suffix *-āk*. As to connexions one could assume a verb *gan-* beside *gand-*, as Avestan has *ban-* beside *band-*, but the word need not be the same as *gan-* 'to strike', IE. *g^ohen-*. E. Herzfeld has again discussed the word in *Altperische Inschriften*, p. 67 f., where he prefers to recognize a siglum in *𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌* for Av.

*apparom, bēšēm āp, bēšēm
zanāk, bēšēm ātaxš, ut bēšēm
urvar ut bēšēm harvišp dahišn
ī ōhrmazd-dāt*

their *χ^oarrah* (good things) and
I will do injury to water, earth,
fire, plants and all creations
which Ōhrmazd has created.

It will be noticed that *hvarnah* is associated with life but is distinct from it and the taking away of *hvarnah* is an injurious act.

When, however, we find *hvarnah* in a compound with *duš-* which cannot apply literally to 'riches', it may be agreed that *hvarnah* is then clearly the abstract 'fortune'. The *dušχ^oarənah-* will mean 'having or receiving, experiencing bad fortune', the reverse of prosperity, serving as an epithet of condemnation or of ill-will. It is used in the Avesta as an epithet of Aēšma ('fury') and of Anra Mainyu, and we shall find it also in later texts. More generally it occurs in Yašt 10. 105:

*īša mainyete dušχ^oarənd
nōiž imat vīspəm dužvarštəm
nōiž vīspəm aiwi.druyštō
mīdrō vaēnaiti apišma*

So thinks the man fit for bad fortune,
Mithra the blind (?) sees
not all this ill-doing, all this tending
ing to trickery.

So far 'riches' or 'prosperity, fortune' has been the most suitable translation for the contexts and these meanings persist throughout. But it was a definite advance when the mythopoeic fancy of the Iranian thinker seized upon a hypostasis of man's 'fortune' to make of it a concrete entity of itself belonging to the invisible world of

anra-, or an equivalent form. What original form of word in Mid.Pers. the siglum would represent is not clear. I hardly think he has made out his case. I should refer to one point, the phrase GrBd 48. 11 *ganākih hast zatārih* 'ganākih, that is, destructiveness', where the meaning of *hast* 'that is' in its identifying use which occurs with or without *χ^oat* (see other cases GrBd 101. 14; 193. 4; Dāstān ī Mēnōk ī xrat 26. 10; Dd 36. 35, and often) has been missed. Two other cases of this *hast* occur on the same p. 48 of the GrBd in the same list of antonyms. The absence of *ganāk* from other sources, including the Manichean Central Asian MSS., is inconclusive; *spēnāk* also is absent. A partial translation, as pointed out BSOS vii. 758, is found not only in *ganāk var* beside Manichean *ahrēvar*, but in other cases, as in *frāχ^o-kart* and *varkaš*, also *yudt-dēv-dāt* DkM 779. 11 and *vīkdēvdāt* DkM 678. 8. Beside *ganāk mēnōk* we have also *angraman*. A reading *ganāk* seems at present best to fit the available evidence and may be adopted pending the discovery of more information. The *zatārih* of Ahraman is explained GrBd 181. 12 f.: *zatārih ēn ku dām ī ōhrmazd bē ašzāyēnēt avē bē zanēt* 'his destructiveness is this that the creation which Ōhrmazd causes to increase, he destroys'.

the *mainyu*, just as we can see the Zoroastrian thinker in a later milieu changing *sraoša*- 'obedience' into a Zoroastrian *yazata* of the type of Mithra. Then the *hvarnah* becomes an abstract force, a *mēnōk*, of fortune standing behind, producing and conditioning fortune in the visible and invisible worlds, as Aši, Art, had become a *mēnōk* out of 'fortune'. *Hvarnah* is then assigned a place in the dwelling of Ōhrmazd, the *asar rōšnīh* 'the endless light', just as the hypostatized *fravahr* of Zoroaster dwelt there till the time came for Zoroaster to be born. As it is said in the Dēnkart (DkM 604. 21):

amahraspandān frāč raβēnūt
hač ān anayr rōšnīh

The Amahraspands brought it forth
from the endless light.

Hvarnah is then a good being of the invisible world, a recipient of Zoroastrian *yasna* as attested by the use of the formulaic *yazamaide* 'we worship', and like other *yazatas* it is declared to be *mazdadāta*- 'created by Mazdā'.

It will not, of course, be supposed that a transformation of *hvarnah* 'good fortune' on earth into a *yazata* was at all difficult, even with the neuter, grammatical, gender of the noun, which in a similar case had not hindered the rise of Vahman. Nor was it peculiar to the Iranians. We have already met the Indian *Śrī* or *Lakṣmī* who may appear in the guise of a lovely young woman; similarly the Greeks had the ἀγαθὴ τύχη 'good fortune' symbolized in female form, the Romans had *Fortuna*, and the Syrians their god *Gad*, on whom F. Cumont has written in Pauly-Wissowa's *Reallexicon*, s.v. 'Gad'.

Once this step had been taken, beside the primary meaning of *hvarnah*, the *hvarnah* ex hypostasi could appear in the visible world in *gētīk*¹ ('material') form, precisely as other beings of the invisible world such as Vṛθragna 'victoriousness' could appear.

In the Avesta three hypostases of the *hvarnah* are known. One, probably a religious version of the others, is the *hvarnah* of Zoroaster. It seems to have played a considerable part in the lost nasks of the Avesta and it will be referred to below, p. 30, from later sources. But the other two hypostases bear marks of an

¹ I adopt *gētīk* as the reading for the various Pahlavi spellings of this word (𐭪𐭥𐭩, 𐭪𐭥𐭩, 𐭪𐭥𐭩, 𐭪𐭥𐭩) on the basis of Mid.Pers. (Manichean) *gytyg* and N. Pers. *gīti*.

origin independent of and probably anterior to Zoroastrian beliefs. We find the *hvarnah* of the Aryas, hence a national form, and the *hvarnah* of the Kavis, the princes who belong to the later part of the legendary Zoroastrian chronology, hence a royal form. The use of an epithet to qualify *hvarnah* in either of these two cases at once denounces the secondary character of these hypostases and will warn us not to make either the starting-point for the interpretation of the more original *hvarnah*. Since neither conception is attested in the Old Indian tradition, the development is likely to be subsequent to the contact of the Indians and Iranians, unless we suppose the Indian tradition to have lost it.

The first of these, the *hvarnah* of the Aryas, the *airyanəm xʷarəmə*, is honoured in Yašt 18. 1-8. It receives the usual formula *yazamaide* 'we worship'. It was created by Ahura Mazdā to overcome the countries outside the Aryan lands (*taurovayēiti anairyā daišhavō* in verse 2), hence a national conception, and to aid in bringing prosperity (verse 6 *fradaθa*) to the mountains and the valleys, thus being occupied in the normal activity of the *hvarnah*, source of well-being. Aši abounding in good things is herself his close associate (verse 4 *təm hačāt ašīš pouruš.xʷāθra*). Here too the association of Aši and the *Airyanəm xʷarəmə* results in the possession of horses, herds, and progeny (verse 5):

hazaxrəm aspā bavaiti
hazaxrəm vaθwā bavaiti
uta āsnqmčēt frazaintīm

A thousand horses appear,
a thousand herds appear,
and noble progeny,

where the irregular syntax (unless we read *baraiti* 'he gains') implies a formula transferred from elsewhere.

The second hypostasis, the *hvarnah* of the Kavis, the *kavaēm xʷarəmə*,¹ enters more largely into the legends. In Yašt 19. 32 it is stated that this 'Fortune' was Yama's whereby he secured riches from the *daivas*:

uye ištīšča saokāča
uye fšaomīšča vaθwāča
uye θraqsčā frasastiča

Both possessions and good things
both small and large cattle
both ease and fame.²

¹ In Sanskrit *rājalakṣmī*, above, p. 13.

² The importance of *frasasti*- 'fame' here will at once remind us of the importance attached to 'fame' among the pre-Islamic Arabs. The Buddhist *yaso bhoga samappito* (Dhammapada 303) 'possessed of fame and riches' is also interesting here.

Hence resulted also his kingdom of happiness where no evil was known, neither the hot winds of the deserts nor the icy blasts from the glaciers, but he abandoned *Arta* for the *Drug*, the right and its constructive activity for the false and its destructive activity. In consequence the *hvarnah* left him visibly in the form of a bird (*vaēnəmnəm xʷarəno mərəyahe kəhrpa*). This was the bird *vərəyna* (verse 35):

šusaŋ xʷarəno yimaŋ hača

The *hvarnah* went from Yama son of

vīvanhušaŋ mərəyahe kəhrpa
vərəynahe

Vivahvant in the form of the bird
Vāragna.

It was a bird of prey which we know now also in Sogdian texts, as Benveniste has shown¹ in identifying it with the word *w'r'yn'y*, *w'r'yn'k*, *w'r'yn'y*, **wārayn*- (SCE 134, 359, Rustam 14) which renders the Chinese 鷹 鵠 *yan-ying*, a bird of the hawk kind. The *hvarnah* was then divided into three parts. Mithra, Thraētaona, and Kərəsāspa in turn each received one-third. The disappearance of Yama's *hvarnah* is noted in a later text (Pahlavi Rivāyat, p. 102) coupled with sovereignty:

ut-aš xʷarrah ut xʷatāyih apār būt

And his fortune and sovereignty
vanished.

As a result of receiving this share of the *hvarnah*, Thraētaona became the most triumphant in his attack upon the resistance of his enemies (*vərəθravastəma*), and Kərəsāspa became the mightiest hero (*aōjišta*). Their heroic deeds are duly recorded. In later texts also, p. 60, we shall find *xʷarrah* associated with *pērōzih* 'victoriousness'.

But there were other stories of this type of *hvarnah*. When it is desired or pursued by foes of the Aryas, or, in the Zoroastrian versions of the legends, by the foes of the Māzdyasnians, then it escapes and for such a foe, who can rightly only be called *dušxʷarənah*-, it is unseizable, uncapturable, and so by a deduction from this aspect of the legend, it is called the *aχʷarətam xʷarəno* 'the unseized, hence unseizable, *hvarnah*', a phrase to which further reference will be made below, p. 73.

Of these legends we note first in Yašt 19. 46 a conflict in the

¹ Benveniste and Renou, *Vrtra et Vrtragna*, p. 34.

divine world.¹ Ātar son of Ahura Mazdā, who as we saw above, p. 20, is indicated in the name *ātərə.xʷarənah* as one of the sources of *hvarnah* 'good things', first desires to secure the *hvarnah*, which *hvarnah* in this story has all the attributes of a hero, being *uyra*- 'strong', *uparō.kairya*- 'supreme worker', like Kərəsāspa in Yasna 9. 10, *varəhəvant*- 'acting effectively', and *yaoχšīvant*- 'possessed of skill'. But he is checked by Aži dahāka, and in turn the threats of Ātar foil him, for he is a foe whose prayer in Yašt 5. 29 is rejected by Ardvi Sūrā Anāhitā. The *hvarnah* departs to the sea Varukrta, where, as we saw above, p. 17, the immense *hvarnah* of Anāhitā exists, and it there passes into the possession of Apām napāt, whose habitat is the waters.

Then Ahura Mazdā urges every man to seek this *hvarnah*, which he who has not *aša* 'right' cannot hold:

xʷarəno aχʷarətam isaēta

Let him desire the unseized
hvarnah,

since easeful fortune goes with it (*təm hačaŋ ašiš pouruš.xʷāθra*) and powers of resistance (*təm hačaŋ vərəθrəm*), whereby all foes are overcome (*āaŋ ana vərəθra hačimmō vanāŋ vīspe tbišyantō*). Here too then *pērōzih* 'victoriousness' accompanies the *hvarnah*.

Here again this practical view of the meaning of *aχʷarəta* must be urged. That the poet here intended a play upon the words, an oxymoron, seems very probable: the *hvarnah*- 'the thing obtained' qualified as *a-hvar-ta*- 'unobtainable', not universally but for the foes of Ahura Mazdā. It is the figure of speech dear to folk-lore and unsophisticated tales by which an attempt is made to heighten the hero's fame, a species of hyperbole. In the cognate Vedic literature it is well known. So in R̥gveda i. 85. 4 it is said of the Maruts:

pracyāvāyanto ācyutā cid ójasā

By force shaking even the unshaken.

In R̥gveda ii. 12. 9 Indra is the hero *acyutacyūt* 'shaker of the unshaken'. The negative *a-* offers a form of expression still stronger than the use of *duš-*, *duṣ-* which we find so frequently, for example, of another hero, the Buddha Śākyamuni. He has wrought many a *duṣkarā kirā* 'difficult deed' as it is called in the

¹ A recent attempt to interpret this story is made by E. Herzfeld in *Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ix. 80 ff., but I hardly think the basis suggested for his interpretation has any probability.

The *hvarnahvant*, the possessor of *hvarnah* 'good fortune' was certain of victory, which indeed is but a particular aspect of a ruler's fortune, and hence the eagerness with which Frānrasyan sought it. Still more abstractly it could be thought of as a cosmic or divine force, operating from the invisible world of the *mainyu*, as had happened in the case also of *varəθrayna-*, whereby great deeds could be accomplished and good fortune secured. Fortune and prosperity were impossible if enemies were to be feared, hence by this *hvarnah* the heroes wrought their great deeds and vanquished all enemies. We find a catalogue of such adventures in the Dēnkart in a summary of a lost Avestan Nask, the Čiθrōdāta. Of Hōšang it is related (DkM 594. 19):

ut-aš zat hōšang pat ān x^oarrah 2 srišvatak ān ī mazan dēv Hōšang by that *x^oarrah* smote down two-thirds of those Mazan demons.

Of Taxmōrup (DkM 594. 21):

hač ān pas mat ō Taxmōrup ī zēnāvand ut-aš vānūt pat ān x^oarrah dēv ut martōm ī vatak yātūk parik Thereafter it came to Taxmōrup the vigilant (well-armed?) and by that *x^oarrah* he overcame demons and evil men, sorcerers and sorceresses.

Of Yam (DkM 593. 17) interpreting the Avestan legend:

ut-aš pat x^oarrah frāx^oēnūt zamīk 3 srišvatak hač ān mas čēgōn pēš hač ān būt By that *x^oarrah* he widened the earth to be three third parts greater than it was before.

In this context belong the collocations of *x^oarrah* with words signifying 'power'.¹ So in DkM 675. 19:

hamāk varč ut x^oarrah ut ōž All effective power and *x^oarrah* and force,

and DkM 675. 22 :

pat ān ī avēšān ōž ut x^oarrah hamāk druž gurtūh vānūhēt By their force and *x^oarrah* all valour of the *druž* was vanquished.

A tendency to mysticism may be noted in DkM 598. 17:

varč x^oarrah ut rāz ī dēn Effective power, *x^oarrah*, and mystery of the Dēn.

In DkM 600. 2 in reference to Zoroaster we find:

varč x^oarrah aβdih effective power, *x^oarrah*, and wonder.

¹ Cf. Av. (Yašt 13. 1) *zāvarə aojasča x^oarəno avasča rafnasča*.

It is said of the Faith in Artāy Virāz nāmak 3. 10:

x^oarrah ī dēn ī māzdēsnañ The *x^oarrah* of the Māzdayasnian faith.

In these cases the *hvarnah* is a force of the *mainyu* bestowing fortune and maintaining it.

So far then the meanings of *hvarnah* have been traced within the extant Avesta, and incidentally in passages based on lost Avestan texts, from the primary meaning 'the thing obtained or desired' by way of 'good things' and 'riches' to the 'good fortune' assured by riches to the possessor of *hvarnah*, and thence to 'Fortune', a divine (*mēnōkik*) hypostasis, and a force bestowing 'good fortune' including all success and victory. It is a creation of Ahura Mazdā and therefore an object of *yasna*, reverent worship. As a being of the invisible world it may be assumed to have received, like Art who has the epithet *bānumatī* 'brilliant', the luminous quality of the *mēnōk* especially of the *asar rōšnīh*,¹ the 'endless light', but no such association is stressed and the primary sense and essential nature of the *hvarnah* is throughout the 'good fortune' which belongs originally to this world.

It is time to turn directly to the ninth-century books, where much indeed is based on Avestan materials no longer extant in the Avestan language to-day, but wherein we may also observe further developments of the meaning of *hvarnah*.

First three visible transformations² of the *hvarnah* should be noted. The first is unhappily obscure. In DkM 816. 5 ff. is related how the dēvs planned the ruin (*ōš*) of Kāyus and how Ēšm seized on him. Kāyus began to desire greater sovereignty than that over the sevenfold earth, to aim at the *x^oatāyih ī asmān ut gās ī amahra-spandān* 'the lordship over the sky and the abode of the amahra-spands'. Then it is stated (11 ff.):

tar harburz apāk vas dēv ut druwand martōm tāk parr ī tam ul dvārast pat ān kanārak ut kayān x^oarrah 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 karp būt Beyond Harburz with many demons and evil men to the bourne of darkness he sped upwards on that side and the *x^oarrah* of the Kays took the form of . . .

¹ Cf. GrBd 138. 7 *ut-aš fravahr (i) ān x^oarrah ī hač asar rōšnīh*.

² The transformation of an abstraction occurs also in the Vahman Yašt 2. 1 *xrat ī harvišp-ākāsih pat āp karp* 'the all-knowing wisdom in the form of water' which Zoroaster drinks.

Kāyus persisted in his folly (*dušākāsīh*) and the Creator recalled the *χ^oarrak* to himself (15 ff.):

ut pas dātār kayān χ^oarrak apāc ō Then the Creator called the *χ^oarrak*
χ^oēš χ^oānd ut spāh ī kāyus hač ān of the Kays and the army of
burz ō zamīk ham past ut kāyus Kāyus fell from that height to
ō zrēh ī frāχ^okart vāzīt. the earth and Kāyus was con-
 veyed to the Frāχ^okart sea.

The word *𐭠𐭣𐭥* here is not clear. In the Frahang ī Pahlavik (ed. Junker, p. 119), it is the Aramaic 𐤒𐤕𐤏𐤁 representing Mid.Pers. *gil* 'clay'. West so translated it in this passage (SBE 37. 221), but it makes little sense. One might conjecture a reading *𐭠𐭣𐭥* Aramaic 𐤒𐤕𐤏𐤁 which represents Mid.Pers. *āhūk* 'gazelle' (written *𐭠𐭣𐭥* in the Pahlavi Rivāyat, p. 190, line 1). But one is hardly helped by it.

The second hypostasis is in the well-known story of Ardašīr ī Pāpakān in the Kārnāmak. When Ardavān is pursuing the fugitive Ardašīr and his own daughter he is informed that a *varrak¹* ī *vazurk* 'a great ram' after pursuing Ardašīr for a time had at last mounted behind him on the horse. The dastavars interpret this for Ardavān (ed. Antia, cap. iv, § 24 = ed. Noshervan, § 58):

dastašar guft ku anōšak bavēt The dastur said: Live for ever,
Artaxšēr χ^oarrak ī kayān ašiš the Royal Fortune has reached
rašīt pat ēč čārak grīstan nē Ardašīr and he cannot in any
tuwān. way be taken.

The third visible transformation of the *hvarnah* is that narrated in the Dēnkart (DkM 600. 20 ff.) and the Vičitakiḥā of Zātspram in the story of the birth of Zoroaster. It is stated that the narrative is based upon the lost Spand Nask, of which the Dēnkart gives the following brief epitome (DkM 690. 12 ff.):

spand mātiyān apar bavišn The Spand book treats of the
hambavišnīh (i) zartušt gētiḥ becoming and conception of
fravahr ut χ^oarrak čēgōn Zoroaster's *fravahr* in the visible
āfrītakīh ī ēvak ēvak pat world and his *χ^oarrak*, how was
mēnōk ut čē aōvēnak dāt the creation of each one in the
[y] ō gētiḥ. invisible world and how it was
 given to the visible world.

¹ The word appears correctly in Antia, § 22 *𐭠𐭣𐭥 varrak-ē*, in §§ 10, 11 the first *vāu* has been omitted, hence we find *𐭠𐭣𐭥* for *𐭠𐭣𐭥* and in § 10 also *𐭠𐭣𐭥*.

In this narrative the religious poet has been active. The 'Fortune' of the fortunate man, or of the king with the pomp and majesty that his fortune has bestowed, has been transferred to the *vaxšavar*, the prophet, the man who is called the *dahišnān pahlom* 'best of creatures' (DkM 600. 2). In the story the *hvarnah* appears not as a bird, but in the form of fire or closely associated with fire creating light far around. It is likely that in such a story the widespread mythological belief that heroes at birth and their mothers emit great light has been used and combined with the thought of *hvarnah* 'fortune' from the invisible world.

In Greek mythology the bodies of heroes shine like those of the gods who dwell in the *αἰθήρ*. The concept of brilliance has been made general. A discussion of this matter was offered many years ago by L. Stephani in his *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*, 1859. We may illustrate the divine brilliance from a passage found since his day in Bacchylides' dithyramb of Theseus (101-5), where we read that when Theseus came to the abode of Nereus, he saw the Nereids:

τόθι κλυτὰς ἰδὼν
 ἔδεισ' ὀλβίοιο Νη- Then seeing the famed daughters
 ρέος κόρας· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλα- of Nereus he was afraid, for
 ῶν λάμπει γυλιῶν σέλας from their lovely limbs shone a
 ὦτε πυρός brilliance as of fire.

Farther east a specific case of a hero shining brilliantly at birth is known in Indonesian legend. In the Pararaton¹ Lembong the thief beholds a light and discovers the exposed child who is later to be king, the young Ken Arok (Angrok). The child is seen to be luminous of himself.

The well-known Roman or Etruscan story of Servius Tullius is told by Livy i. 39. His future greatness was presaged by the appearance of a fire:

puero dormienti cui Servio Tullio It is related that the head of the
nomen fuit caput arsisse ferunt boy called Servius Tullius, while
multorum in conspectu he slept, caught fire in the sight
 of many.

¹ Ed. Brandes, 2nd ed. Krom, Jonker, Kraemer, and Poerbatjaraka, p. 5, translation, p. 47. Other cases in Indonesian mythology of magic power showing itself as light are mentioned by C. C. Berg, *Inleiding tot de studie van het Oud-Javaansch*, p. 137 note.

The somewhat naive attempt to make the story credible by the appeal to many eye-witnesses will be noticed. We find the same in the story of Zoroaster's birth.

When Mahāvīra the prophet of the Jaina religion was born it is reported that a great light was observed, but this was ascribed to the descent of divine beings. The Jinacaritra (Kalpasūtra) 97 reads:

*jaṃ rayaniṃ ca ṇaṃ samāṇa
bhagavaṃ Mahāvīra jāe taṃ
rayaniṃ ca ṇaṃ bahūhiṃ
devehiṃ devīhi ya uvayaṃtehiṃ
ya uppayātehiṃ ya ujjoyiṃ vi
hotthā*

On the night in which the lord Mahāvīra the *śramaṇa* was born from the many gods and goddesses descending and ascending a brilliance was produced.

The Dēnkart (DkM 600. 20 ff.) is imaginative and detailed, and the briefer epitome of Zātspram (K 35, 246 r 1 ff.) will suffice here:

*apar paidāk būtan ī zartuštān
χ^oarraḥ pēs-ič hač zāyīšn ōgōn
paidāk ku peš hač 45 sāl ī kač
zartušt bē ō hampursagih mat
kač frēn ī zartušt māt ī-šān
duyḍav χ^oānd zāt pat ātaχš ad-
vēnak hač ān asar rōšnīh frōt
āmat bē ō ān ātaχš gumēxt ī-š
pēs būt hač ātaχš andar ō mātar ī
zartušt gumēxt 3 šap pat hamāk
tārān kustak ī χānak pat ātaχš
advēnak paidāk būt rās-vitārān
vazurk rōšnīhā ham-ē dūt kač-ič
15 sālak būt ān χ^oarraḥ ī-š patiš
[rād] hast pat rās (ī) ham-ē raft
adak-aš patrōk hačīš ham-ē ōpast*

On the appearance of the χ^oarraḥ of Zoroaster before his birth. It is stated that forty-five years before Zoroaster came to the Conferences, when Frēn Zoroaster's mother was born who was called Duyḍav, it descended in the likeness of fire from the Endless Light and mingled with the fire which was before her. From the fire it entered into the mother of Zoroaster. For three nights in all the dark parts of the house it appeared in likeness of a fire. The passers-by saw great lights. When she was fifteen years old from the χ^oarraḥ (fortune) which was in her on the path she went a light fell down.

These are also the essentials in the Dēnkart account where in more detail is told how the *fravahr*, the *tan-gōhr*, and the χ^oarraḥ unite to form the child Zoroaster's human form. According to Zātspram (ibid. 13 ff.) and the Dēnkart, the *fravahr* of Zoroaster was set in the *hōm* and his χ^oarraḥ in the cow's milk and thence they passed into the parents before the conception.

The Dēnkart (DkM 434. 12 ff.) in describing how Zoroaster took

on himself *karp-patmōkīh*¹ 'a garment of form' associates *rōšnīh* 'light'² with the χ^oarraḥ 'fortune':

*kač ō karp-patmōkīh ut [gētik]
gētikīk paidākīh frēstīhast
vazurk χ^oarraḥ ut rōšnīh ōgōn
apar-ditārik būt ī ham čēgōn
andar yam tōhmak *kač³ porušāsp
<ī-š> pit ō duyḍav ī-š mātar
mat tāk-ič zāt 𐬨𐬀 dranād⁴
hač χ^oēs māt giyāk ku franaft
burzīhā ut stafrīhā brēh
ātaχš humānak ō dūr zamīk
rōšnīh ut bām ut pairōk dāt*

When he was sent to take the garment of form and to appear in the visible world, the great fortune and light was seen which belonged to Yam's family. When Porušāsp his father came to Duyḍav his mother till he was born to the distance of a . . . from her own dwelling where she went loftily and intensely a splendour like a fire gave light, brilliance, and resplendence far over the land.

Here then we have clearly a new conception of the *hvarnah*. It differs from the *kavaēm* χ^oaranō, the royal fortune and its resultant majesty, which according to Yašt 19. 79 ff. adhered to Zoroaster. It has become an integral part of his bodily existence. It enters first into his mother and thence into his own human form. Its connexion with the χ^oarraḥ of Yam is, however, not forgotten.

A further step was taken, at least in the later books, to the concept of an individual inherent *hvarnah* and a psychological explanation of this inherent *hvarnah* was conceived. It was clearly impossible that the prophet, the *ratu*, the director of life, should be inferior to king or ancient hero in the possession of *hvarnah*. It will now be seen that the inherent *hvarnah* was extended. Not the great man alone, whether king or prophet, had *hvarnah* 'good fortune' within him, but it was ascribed to each individual man. It is perhaps possible that this was due to a doctrine of fate based on astrology, but it may be due to a recognition that each individual could in fact be at different times *hvarnahvant* and *dušhvarnah*, as

¹ Cf. Dd. 36. 25 *pitān-patmōkīh ī χ^oat hast gētik-patmōkīh* 'the wearing of flesh which is the garment of the visible world'.

² Similarly in the description of Artavahišt (ZKA 225. 2 ff.) *ut χ^oarraḥ rōšnīh bēšāzišnīh kē-t gētik hast ātaχš ī suxr ī sōčāk ī apāyīšnīk*, where we have also the association with healing.

³ The printed text has 𐬨𐬀 *kē*.

⁴ 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 appears to indicate the distance to which the light was visible. West, SBE 47. 122, took it to refer to Zoroaster's life and rendered 'and for the duration of life', but a measure of distance is needed, as Zātspram's epitome also shows.

the Art Yašt indicates. The commentators claimed this individual fortune for the Avestan texts. This is clear from the commentary on Vidēvdāt 5. 9, in spite of the obscurity of the Avestan passages there quoted out of context. The text must be partially quoted.

ātarš narəm jainti vā
 ātaš mraoṣ ahurō mazdā
 ātarš narəm nōi jainti
 astō. vīdōtuš dim bandayeiti
 vayo dim bastəm nayeiti
 ātarš handažaiti asta uštanəmča
 abra adāt frajasaiti
 baxta adāt nījasaiti

Or does the fire slay the man?
 Then said Ahura Mazdā,
 Fire does not slay the man.
 Astavidātu binds him.
 Vaya leads him away bound.
 Fire burns up bones and force.
 There then the allottings are ended,
 Then they are decided.

Only the comment on the last two lines is here of concern. It reads:

kaḥ hač ānōd pas frač rasēt
 ku bē āyēt
 ku baxt avē pas bē rasēt

When thence afterwards he attains,
 that is, he arrives,
 so that fortune afterwards reaches
 him
 so that he is on the path of destiny,
 that is, he arrives.

ku pat rās ī brīn bavēt
 kaḥ bē āyēt

So far *baxt* is a translation of Av. *baxta*. But in the subsequent discussion five lines of Avestan text are quoted to illustrate the effect of *baxt*¹ which is conceived as *nēvakih* 'good things, good fortune':

gairi.masō anhō aētahe
 anyō arəduva.zəngō x^oarəno

To the size of a mountain of this . . .
 another ready on his feet (has)
 hvarnah (?).

ātaš x^oarəno frapiryeiti
 pouru.x^oarənanhō ašava zaraθuštra
 aēšqmča narqm

Then the hvarnah is removed
 of the fortunate man, O Zoroaster
 possessor of right,
 and of those men.

A literal translation is given in the commentary, but the general discussion, the truth of which this passage is quoted to prove (*hač ān giyāk paīdāk*), is as follows:

gētik pat baxt mēnōk pat kunišn
 hast kē etōn gōβēt zan ut frazand

Worldly things are by fortune,
 invisible things by acts. Some

¹ It will be remembered that *baxt* is not an isolated word in Middle Persian but was in regular use as a participle meaning 'allotted, divided' as in Zātspram (K 35, 242 v 6) *bē ē bahrān baxt* (HLKWNT) 'he divided them into classes', and 34. 36 ē 3 *baxt* 'is divided into three', DkM 688. 14 *baxt ēstāt* 'were distributed'.

ut x^oastak ut x^oatāyih ut xīvandakih¹
 pat baxt apārik pat kunišn
 mart ī kaḥ nēvakih ī-š nē
 brēhēnīt ēstēt aš hakar-ič
 apar nē rasēt hač ān giyāk
 paīdāk ān ī-š apar
 brēhēnīt ēstēt ī-š pat
 tuṣšākīh pēš bē rasēt ut-aš
 pat vināskārīh bavēt kaḥ-aš
 apār bavēt
 ut-aš anākīh brēhēnīt ēstēt
 pat frārōn tuṣšākīh spōxtan
 tuvān ut-aš vināskārīh navak
 navak aβiš ōh brēhēnēt
 mart kaḥ-aš pat x^oarrah [mart ī]
 apāyēt murtan bē kaḥ-aš pat
 x^oarrah avē murt tāk nē
 šāyēt bē avē tuvān kartan ku
 pat ōzatan ī avē avinās ē
 patkār-ratīh huwap apāk nē kunand.

say wives, children, property,
 authority, and life are by fortune,
 the rest by acts.

A man if it is good which he has
 not wrought, to that he never
 attains. From this place it is
 manifest. That which he has
 wrought by his labour he attains
 and it is by his evil-doing if it
 vanishes. And what evil he has
 done can be thrust away by
 labour directed to good and his
 evil-doing again and again he
 does against him.

A man if it is his fortune, must die.
 Except it is his fortune he cannot
 die. But it is possible to claim
 that in killing him one is inno-
 cent. This objection they do not
 accept.

Here clearly *x^oarəno*, *x^oarrah*, has been understood to mean *baxt* and *baxt* is defined by *brīn* 'determined, fated; destiny'. In rendering Av. *x^oarəno* in this context *x^oarrah* is used but with the gloss *ku pat x^oēškārīh*. This is the regular etymological interpretation of *x^oarrah* understood from a base *hvar-* to mean 'appropriating, taking' as we found above, p. 27. The method of etymological translation is naturally well known. We met a case above, p. 8, where Av. *kərati-* was rendered etymologically by *karrēnitak* 'cut' and then explained from the context. We are here concerned with their interpretation, not their etymology.

They had then identified *x^oarrah* = *x^oēškārīh* with *baxt* 'fortune' as something determined by a supernatural power (*brīn*). The difficulty which arose here—if there were an inherent individual *x^oarrah* or *baxt*, a determinate fortune, how was the encouragement of good deeds to be justified?—was solved simply by the commentator:

gētik pat baxt mēnōk pat kunišn

Worldly good is due to individual
 fortune, spiritual good is due to
 good deeds.

It is therefore clear what could be understood by *x^oarrah* even

¹ Cf. DkM 567. 5 ff. 5 *pat brēh . . . zīndakīh ut zan ut frazand ut x^oatāyih ut x^oastak apērtār hač brēh*.

when the gloss $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ was used to explain it. It could be *baxt* as here, which meant the possession of wives, children, property, authority, and life. This was the meaning deduced above, p. 9, for the Av. *hvarnah* of the Art Yašt.

Now it is in this way by the use of $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ that the commentator explained the $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ in the story of the child Zoroaster. In DkM 601. 19 the *pur- $\chi^v\text{arrāhīh}$* 'possession of abundant fortune' of Zoroaster is explained by *hamāk $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$* , which we may understand to mean the full possession of all the good things of *hvarnah* including the high authority of a director (*ratu*) of the world. Note that this interpretation follows the imaginative passage describing the descent of Zoroaster's $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ from the presence of Ohrmazd from the Endless Light through the sun, moon, and stars and thence to the fire in the house of his grandfather Frāhim. *rvānā.zōiš*.

Holding the belief that their own Middle Persian words *farr*, *farrah*, $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$, meant 'good fortune', that is, *baxt*, a meaning these words indeed have never lost, they felt justified in finding this same meaning in the Avesta. We shall concede at least that the story of Zoroaster's birth as related by Zātspram and the Dēnkart, probably embodying older Avestan materials, recognized that *hvarnah* was an inherent individual fortune, no longer simply 'prosperity', nor the national, Arya, fortune or the fortune of the Kavis, whence it had, however, been transferred. But we may ask whether this was not in the Avesta confined to the case of a *ratu*. It is perhaps the commentators who are responsible for tracing such a meaning also in the $\chi^v\text{arəno}$ of other Avestan passages.

Yet a further interpretation of $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ in the Middle Persian books remains, the association of this word with intellect. In a simple form this is to be found in the GrBd 101. 1-14 and in Zātspram K 35, 243 v 9-17¹ which relates the story of the first man and woman. Martē ('mortal man') and Martānē ('woman') grew out of the earth like a *rēpās* 'rhubarb' plant with one stalk and fifteen leaves. They were joined in body and had but the one shape (*hambašnīh*). Between them grew up the $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$, their individual fortune, but the two mortals and the 'fortune' were indistinguishably one. The narrator then quotes from the Dēn, saying (8-14):

katār pēš dāt $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ ayāp tan Which was created first, the fortune or the body? Ohrmazd
ut-aš guft ōhrmazd ku $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$

¹ In West's translation, SBE v, cap. 10. 4.

ō ān ī dāt ēstēt andar tan dāt
ku $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ bē brēhēnēt
bē ō $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ dāt
ut-aš vičārišn ēn ku ruvān
pēš dāt tan pas
ruvān andar tan $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$
rādēnēt
har 2 hač urvar-karpīh bē
ō martōm-karpīh vašt hand
ut ān $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ mēnōkīhā
andar ō avēšān šut hast ī
ruvān¹

said, The fortune for him who was created was created in the body, that is, his activity of taking (= apprehending) was created. It was given to the activity. Its explanation is this: the intelligent soul was first created, afterwards the body. The intelligent soul controls this activity within the body. Both turned from plant-form to human form and that fortune as an invisible being entered into them; that is the intelligent soul.

Here then the inherent $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$, interpreted by the etymological $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ and used interchangeably with it, is identified with the *ruvān*, the intelligent soul. It would seem that the commentators have understood the 'taking' (*hvar-*) to be of the mind and therefore identified this $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ = $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ with the faculty of apprehension. In the gloss quoted above, p. 26, the use of *frahang* 'study' leads in the same direction. Note too the use of $\chi^v\text{ēškār}$ *ut tuḫšāk* to explain Av. $\chi^v\text{arənanhan-}$ and the collocation in DkM 312. 21 f.:

$\chi^v\text{arsandīh}$ *ut $\chi^v\text{ēškārīh}$ ut tuḫšākīh* Content and appropriation and
ut bavandak-mēnišnīh ut šarm vigour and devotion and modesty
ut arvandīh ut $\chi^v\text{āparīh}$ and nobility and beneficence.

The psychological interpretation did not stop there. In DkM. 387. 22 there is the $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ *ī tōhmakīk $\chi^v\text{ēšāvand}$ ī āsn srūt xrat* 'the $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$, original, owned personally, which is the **āsna-sruta-xratu*', where the old Avestan phrase *āsna-xratu-* influenced by the phrase *gaošō.srūta-* ('native wit', according to the Skt. rendering *naisargika*) has been reinterpreted. The same phrase occurs again in *tōhmakīk $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ ī āsn srūt xrat*. A similar interpretation of $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ is perhaps intended in DkM 584. 16 *hēm ut xrat ut hunar ut $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$* .

Here belongs also the belief in the life and death of the $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$. In the chapter of the Dēnkart (350. 11 ff.) *apar $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ zīndakīh ut markīh* 'on life and death of the $\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ ' it is said:

$\chi^v\text{arrāh}$ *zīndakīh hač xrat frazā-* The life of the 'fortune' is from
nakīh ut-aš markīh hač varan the mind's wisdom and its death
 $\chi^v\text{at-dōšakīh}$ is from the self-defiling of lust.

¹ In the GrBd 193. 4 it is said that the *ruvān* is in the brain (*ruvān kē-š gās pat mazg ī sar*).

In DkM 566. 20 similarly:

χ^oarrāh zīvandakīh hač rāstīh The 'fortune's' life is from right.
and the two are associated in DkM 688. 13 f. *zīvišn ut χ^oarrāh hač ānōd baχt ēstāt* 'life and *χ^oarrāh* were distributed from there', but here *χ^oarrāh* is 'good things'.

A testimony to the interpretation of *χ^oarrāh* in Sasanian times by *baχt* 'allotted fortune' comes to us from a further, external, source. This is the book of Eznik Kolbači,¹ who wrote in a different milieu of the fifth century A.D. He wrote of Zurvān, well known in connexion with *baχt* and with *brīn* in Zoroastrian books as in the *Dāstastān ī Mēnōk ī χrat* 26. 10:

čē kār ī gēhān hāmōgēn pat brēh ut Since the activity of the whole
zamānak ut vičīr ī brīn raβēt ī world is carried on by destiny and
χ^oat hast zurvān ī pātāχšāh ut time and decision of fate which is
dērang-χ^oatāy itself Zurvān the sovereign and
long-continuing ruler.

He is the distributor of good, in the GrBd 166. 13 *ān ī kē nēvakīh baχšēt*, and his *nēvakīh-baχtārīh* is mentioned in GrBd 32. 5, 7.

Eznik (p. 125 = Langlois, translation, ii. 375) wrote:

zrouan omn anoun ēr or t'argmani There was one by name Zruvān
baχt kam p'ark' which is interpreted *baχt* ('fortune') or *farr* ('fortune').

In this statement *p'ark'* has usually been misunderstood, being translated 'glory', for we must certainly understand *kam* 'or' as giving an alternative but identical interpretation and render *p'ark'* by 'fortune' and not introduce the Christian 'glory', the Greek *δόξα*, into this context.

In support of this it must be pointed out that the Armenian *p'ark'* occurs elsewhere in this sense of 'fortune', as distinct from that of 'glory'. Mr. R. C. Zaehner kindly called my attention to two passages of this same book of Eznik (pp. 131, 144 = Langlois, ii. 376, 379) of which the relevant passages must be quoted here:

zi p'ark'n oč et'ē anjñauor inč en, Since fortune is not something
ayl i yafołout'enē ourouk' anouanin personal, but from the success of
p'ark', orpēs i čafołout'enē ourouk' some one his fortune is named,
anouani t'souarout'ian as from a person's ill-success his
misfortune is named.

¹ Eznkay Kolbačuoy Bagreuanday Episkoposi *Elč Atandoç*, Venice, 1926.

The second passage is as follows:

orpēs yardarout'enēn ardarn koči, As the righteous is named from his
eu i k'ajout'enēn k'ajñ, noynpēs righteousness and the brave from
eu i p'araurout'enē anti baχ- his bravery, just so is the fortu-
taur nate (possessor of *baχt*) named
from his fortune (possession of
farr).

The Armenian Dictionary of the Mekhitharists of 1836 explained *p'ark'* by 'gloria, honor, celebritas, laus, opinio' and the sense of 'fortune' hardly appears, being given only in the word 'felicior' as one of the interpretations of *p'arauragoyñ*.

It will now be clear that the ninth-century books and the earlier commentators understood by Mid.Pers. *χ^oarrāh*, and claimed also for the Av. *χ^oarənah*, the meaning of 'fortune', and more specifically 'good fortune', which could appear in various forms as a hypostasis from the invisible world of the *mēnōk*.

We must now refer to other, earlier, evidence of such an interpretation of *hvarnah*. To be noticed is the Aramaic *gd* 'fortune' which in the form *ܓܕܗ* *GDH* regularly represents Mid.Pers. *χ^oarrāh* in the Zoroastrian books, and the Greek *τύχη* 'fortune'. It has been claimed¹ for the *Uzvärišn* system, which has a certain notoriety in Pahlavi studies, the system which uses Aramaic words to represent the corresponding Mid.Iranian words (the Aramaic surviving from a period in which documents were entirely in Aramaic, and being gradually extruded till as in the Buddhist Sogdian texts a few only of such Aramaic words survived), that it belongs in origin to the Achaemenid period. If this is correct, we have in *GDH* = *χ^oarrāh* an early, perhaps Achaemenid, interpretation of Aramaic *gd* 'fortune' by *farnah*. The Sasanian and later commentators then have a long tradition behind them. It is clear that the essential meaning of *hvarnah* could thus be satisfactorily expressed, but the Zoroastrian invisible world differed somewhat from that of the Aramaeans, and the various transformations of *hvarnah* in the invisible world could not be expressed by *gad*, although *gad* was itself personified and deified.²

¹ See the discussions of H. H. Schaeder, *Iranische Beiträge*, 1. i ff. (1930), in the *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft*, and H. J. Polotsky, *Le Muséon*, xlv. 273 ff.

² F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa, *Reallexicon*, s.v. 'Gad', has brought together

The Syriac evidence,¹ which has often been quoted, belongs to the Sasanian period. Here also *gad* is a word in common use for 'fortune' with derivatives such as *gadān-ā* 'fortunatus, felix', *gadānūtā* 'felicitas'. When the Syrian Christians wished to refer to the *Kayān* *χ^oarraha* 'the royal fortune', it was *gad* which they used. So *Acta Martyrum*, I. 217 in an oath *bgdh d mlk mlk* 'by the fortune of the king of kings' or by the name of a particular king, *Acta Martyrum*, I. 186, *bgdh d šhwr* 'by the fortune of Šāhpuhr'.

The Greek evidence is similar. They understood the Persian *farnah* to correspond to 'fortune'. They used *τύχη* to render the term.² In reference to a king in the Seleucid period occurred such expressions as *ὀμνῶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου τύχῃ* 'I swear by the fortune of king Seleukos'. It was therefore a suitable equivalent for the Aramaic, in spite of the grammatical gender, or for Persian *farnah*. Similarly the oath to the kings of Pontus invoked the *τύχην βασιλέως*.³ Menandros Protiktōr, writing at the end of the sixth century A.D.,⁴ quotes a letter of the Persian king Husrau to Justinian beginning *θεῶς ἀγαθὸς εἰρηνοπάτριος ἀρχαῖος Χοσρόης βασιλεὺς βασιλέων εὐτυχῆς εὐσεβῆς ἀγαθοποιὸς ᾧ τινι οἱ θεοὶ μεγάλῃν τύχην καὶ μεγάλῃν βασιλείαν δεδώκασι γίγας γυγάντων*. Here too the *μεγάλη τύχη* can be understood of the *farrah*. A similar allusion has been recognized in the epitaph of Antiochus I of Commagene⁵ in his references to the *τύχης νέας* and *ἀξίως τύχης ἐμῆς καὶ δαιμόνων*.

references to the divine figure Gad. In a Palmyrene inscription Gad is equated with the (feminine) Greek *τύχη*.

¹ Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.; F. Cumont, Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Gad'.

² F. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 1899, 285, note 2, recognized this to be the regular Greek equivalent of *farnah*. He wished, however, to understand *farnah* also in Plutarch, *Vita Alexandri*, 30. The *θαλαμηπόλος* of Darius informs him of the state of his (Darius') family, saying *οὔτε γὰρ ζώσῃ τῇ δεσποίνῃ Στατείρᾳ καὶ μητρὶ σῇ καὶ τέκνοις ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ τὸ σὸν ὄραν φῶς, ὃ πάλιν ἀναλάμψει λαμπρὸν ὁ κύριος Ὁρομάσδης, οὔτε ἀποθανοῦσα κόσμου τινὸς ἀμοιβὴς γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολέμιων τετίμηται δάκρυον*. Here *τὸ σὸν φῶς* is uncertain. It has been understood of the 'light' of the king's countenance, an Oriental expression possible in Plutarch. It may, however, refer to the splendour of majesty which we shall later find expressed by Mid. Pers. *bām* or even a general phrase to refer to well-being, the king's *sūt*. One can hardly accept a reference to the word *farnah*.

³ F. Cumont, *loc. laud.*, 285, note 4.

⁴ *Excerpta de legationibus*, II. 16, Teubner ed.

⁵ Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, I. 591 ff.

The external evidence for 'fortune' as at least the dominant conception in the meaning of *hvarnah* is thus of an early date, perhaps from the Achaemenid period, although it is not necessary to suppose that either *Gad* or *Τύχη* corresponded in every particular with the Iranian understanding of *hvarnah* in the *gētik* and the *mēnōk* worlds.

But beside these new ideas of inherent individual fortune, decided at birth or before, as shown in the story of Zoroaster, and the mental activity of *χ^oarraha*, the older ideas of the Avesta are fully maintained in the ninth-century books. It will be well to illustrate this from the texts. So in the Dēnkart (DkM 641. 1 ff.) in the story of Vištāsp's victory (*pērōzih*) over Arjāsp:

apartar gās ut asačišnik Supreme position, permanent lord-
χ^oatāyih ut rāy ut χ^oarraha ship, riches, and fortune.

Artāy Virāz in his journey to Vahišt (AVn 12. 18) saw the souls of the great (*vazurgān ruvān*):

andar ān ī buland rōšnīh pat ān ī In that exalted light with that great
mas χ^oarraha good fortune.

He saw too (14. 12) the glorious station of those who had destroyed the *χrafstr*, the noxious creatures, whereby the well-being of the waters, fires, plants, and the earth had been increased:

χ^oarraha ī āpān ut āturān ut ātaχšān The well-being of waters and fires
ut urvarān ut ān-ič ī zamīk and plants and the well-being of
χ^oarraha hačīš ham-ē vaχšīt the earth also increased by it.

The *χ^oarraha* of the luminaries, called in Dd 36. 35 *rōšnān ī pur-χ^oarrahān*, is noted Dd 36. 21:

rōšn χ^oar ut bāmīk mām ut χ^oarra- Shining sun and splendid moon
hōmandān stārān and stars possessing *χ^oarraha*
(good things).

In the GrBd 173. 10 ff. there is the story of the *χ^oarraha* of every creature before Ōhrmazd. The work of the *Ahravān mēnōk* 'the invisible being of the possessors of right':

ut-aš ēn-ič χ^oēškārīh ku harv This too is their work that every
adīpārak-ē hač harv dahišn-ē evening from every creation a
χ^oarraha-ē apāč pēš ī ōhrmazd *χ^oarraha* (good things in hypostasi)
šavēt pat ušahin gās ān χ^oarrahi ō returns to the presence of
star pādak āyēt ōšbām bē patgīrēt Ōhrmazd. At the *ušahin* period
ut pat bāmdāt gās bē ō var ī it reaches the station of the stars.
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*urvaēs āyēt ahrav mēnōk patgīrēt
ut pat rah ī vartēn āyēt ut harv
yāvar-ē x^oarraḥ ī x^oēš ōš apaspārēt*

Dawn receives it. At dawn it reaches the sea of Urvaēs. The Ahrav mēnōk receives it and comes in a rolling car and each time delivers its own x^oarraḥ over to Dawn.

The description of Vahišt in the Dātaštān ī Mēnōk ī xrat 6. 14 agrees with the vision of Artāy Virāz:

*ut harv gās pur-x^oarraḥ ut hubōd
ut hurām ut pur-rāmišn ut pur-
nēvakāh hand* And all places are full of well-being, sweet-scented, joyous, happy, and fortunate.

Similarly the joys of garōdmān in the GrBd 190. 4 ff.

We find here also the association with medicine in Dd 36. 86:

*hōm ī spēt ut frāšm ī pur-x^oarraḥ kē
dārēt bēšaz ī darmān ī amargīh* The white hōm, bright, full of x^oarraḥ, who has the healing, the medicine of immortality.

The rendering of x^oarraḥ by 'good fortune' or 'well-being, welfare' is well supported by other passages of these later books. In the description of Māh Yazd, the moon as divinity in GrBd 165. 6 f., interpreting such a phrase as in Yašt 7. 3 x^oarəmə baxšənti zəm paiti ahurađātəm, it is first stated:

pat ān 3 pañcak x^oarraḥ baxšēt In those three pentads of days he distributes x^oarraḥ,

and then this is given in more detail as follows (164. 15 ff.):

*ōgōn mäh-ič pat ān hangōšitak 15
apšayēt nēvakāh ō gētiyān baxšēt¹* And the moon too in that way increases for 15 days and distributes good things to the beings of the visible world.

Here x^oarraḥ is interpreted by nēvakāh 'good things'.² This same activity of the moon is called x^oarraḥ-baxštārih in GrBd 164. 13. We saw above, p. 38, that nēvakāh-baxštārih in GrBd 32. 7 described the activity of Zurvān.

A similar identity of x^oarraḥ and nēvakāh is implied in such a text as the following (Pahlavi Texts, p. 56):

*apšōs mā kun tāk x^oarraḥōmand
(bavēh) ēē nēvakāh ut yuttarih
pat harv gās ut pat harv kas
šāyēt būtan* Mock not that you may be fortunate since good things and calamities can befall anyone at any time.

¹ Cf. Yašt 8. 1 parača mā nərəbyō x^oarəmə baxšənta.

² nēvakāh also serves to render Av. aši- and yāna-.

In such a context it is clear that x^oarraḥōmand could be replaced by farraḥ^o.

The association of x^oarraḥ with riches is frequent, as in the Nāmak-nipēsišnīh 3:

rāy ut x^oarraḥ ī visp-aṣrang Riches and good things with all honour.

In the Dātaštān ī Mēnōk ī xrat 48. 5 similarly:

aržōmandtar ut x^oarraḥōmand More precious and full of good.

So also DkM 234. 18 rāyōmandīh ut x^oarraḥōmandīh 'riches and prosperity'; DkM 36. 12 (a reference I owe to Mr. R. C. Zaehner) x^oarraḥ tarvənītār (i) škōhīh 'prosperity overcoming poverty'; DkM 791. 3 baxšīšn ī ō tuḥšākān x^oarraḥ ō ašgahānān škōhīh 'the distribution of prosperity to the energetic and poverty to the slothful'; DkM 633. 12 pat x^oatāyīh x^oatāytom ut pat rāy rāyōmandtom ut pat x^oarraḥ x^oarraḥōmandtom 'in lordship most lordly, in riches most rich, in prosperity most prosperous'; ZKA 256 in reference to the katak x^oarraḥ 'fortune of the house', every creature on the fruitful earth (apar ēn spandārmāt zamīk ī pur-bar) is made pairādišnīk ut x^oarraḥōmandtar ut urvāhmōmandtar 'well equipped and more prosperous and more joyous'. The contexts are definite and conform to the use of raēvant- and x^oarənahvant- in the Avesta.

When, then, the commentator in Vidēvdāt 1. 21 explains the Avestan word bāmya-, when used of the many unnamed countries, by the remark:

bāmīk ku x^oarraḥōmand Splendid, that is, fortunate,

he means us to think of the equivalent farraḥ^o, a simple 'prosperous', and this although we know that according to the Armenian historians the name Bahl ī bamīk (Šahrihā ī ērān 8, bahl ī *bāmīk) was interpreted by 'Bahl of the dawn' Bahl arauōtin, that is, the east (Hübschmann, Armen. Gram. 31). The distribution of x^oarraḥ is referred to in DkM 688. 13 f.:¹

*zīvišn ut x^oarraḥ hač ānōd baxt
ēstāt* Life and fortune were distributed thence.

In the Dātaštān ī dēnik (36. 44): x^oarraḥ-baxšīšnīh 'distribution of

¹ The story in the Čīrōdāta nask of the settling of men in x^oaniras and the seven climes (pur-raṣīšnīh (i) martōm andar miyānak ī x^oaniras ut baxšīšn ī avēšan pat 7 kišvar ī pērāmōn x^oaniras).

χ^varraḥ', good fortune is meant. The association of light and good fortune in the luminaries is noted Dd 36. 44 *ān ī avēšān rōšnīh ut χ^varraḥ* 'their light and prosperity-giving force'. The χ^varraḥ of the Dēn appears as in Dd 36. 73 *vazurk χ^varraḥ ī apēčak rāst dēn* 'the great fortune-bestowing force of the pure true faith'.

In Nigāyišn 5. 6 the χ^varraḥ 'fortunes' of the great families are mentioned:

*nāf (i) χ^vatāyān ut dahyupatān
dūtak āzātakān vazurgān*

The family of the lords and rulers,
the family of the well-born and
great,

*apāč-ārādīšnīh (i) rāyōmand ut
χ^varraḥōmand tōhmak*

the establishment of the rich and
prosperous family.

The effect of the χ^varraḥ bestowed or possessed is made clear in DkM 420. 2 f.:

*avē bay ī ān ī ōgōn gēhān sūt apāč-
ārādīšnīh pat χ^varraḥ*

His Majesty (Ardašīr ī Pāpakān)
whose is the establishment of
the good fortune (sūt) of the
world through χ^varraḥ.

Similarly in DkM 565. 9:

*ut hač χ^varraḥōmandīh aβzāyītan
ī martōmān patiš mart ō burzišn
pātayšāhīh ut kār ī šahr šavēt*

And by possession of fortune and
increase of men thereby a man
attains to honour and sovereignty
and affairs of state.

DkM 439. 17 ff. refers to the *apartar-χ^varraḥ dahyupat* 'the ruler having supreme χ^varraḥ' and *avē ī dahyupat druvisť dāštār ī ham nāf ut patvand ut χ^varraḥ patiš mēhmānīh* 'the ruler's keeping in health his whole family and relatives and the dwelling of the χ^varraḥ (prosperity) therein'.

We saw above, p. 20, that the Avestan name *ātərə.χ^varənah* 'he whose good fortune is due to Ātar, the fire' associated χ^varraḥ with 'fire', like the name *haomō.χ^varənah* which associated χ^varraḥ with the *haoma*. This conception of the fortune-bestowing powers of fire is carried farther in these later books. Of the three fires, assigned to the priests, warriors, and peasants, the first, that of the priests, received the name of *farn-bay* 'distributor of good fortune', and of *ātur-χ^varraḥ* 'whose good is from fire' (GrBd 125. 1), while the two others were *gušnasp* and *burzēn-mihr* (GrBd 124. 2 *et passim*). In interpreting the Avestan *berəxi.savah* (transcribed *birz-savang* GrBd 124. 1), one of the five sorts of fire, an etymology

has come into play, hence in Zātspram 35. 82 we find *buland-sūt *andar asmān ān χ^varraḥ kē-š mēhmānīh andar varhrān ātaxš buland-sūt* ('whose good is exalted') in the sky is that χ^varraḥ ('good fortune' interpreting *sūt* 'good') which dwells in the Varhrān fire'.

The fire *farn-bay* stands at the Činvant Bridge (GrBd 169, 2 ff.) to destroy darkness:

*ātur farn-bay rād gōβēt ku
pat činvār puhl kaδ ruvān ī
ahravān viitirēt ōδ bē rasēt
tam be zanēt rōšn bē kunēt*

Of the *farn-bay* fire it is said that
at the Činvār bridge when a
soul of the righteous ones passes
away and arrives there, he strikes
down the darkness and makes
light.

In the story (GrBd 124. 10) of the journey of Taxmōrup across the sea from the central continent χ^vaniras to another *kišvar* it is related that the three fires, like three χ^varraḥ in the fire-vessels, fell into the sea, but escaping extinction, guided the men safely across:

*ataxš bē ō drayā ōpast
avēšān harv 3 ātaxš čēgōn
3 χ^varraḥ pat giyāk-gās
ī ātur gās ī pat pušt ī gāv
vaχšūt hand ut ham-rōšn
bē būt ān martōmān pat
zrēh apāč vitart hand*

The fires fell into the sea. Those
three fires like three χ^varraḥ
(forces bestowing good fortune)
in the fire-places on the back
of the ox increased and became
wholly bright. The men crossed
the sea.

The presence of the χ^varraḥ in the fires assured success.

Similarly, in speaking of the fire in man's body, we read in the Pahlavi Rivāyat, p. 5-8:

*ātaxš ētōn aržōmand ī ōhrmazd(i)
tan (i) martōmān ān ī ātaxš (i)
tan jān hač vārom ut manišn ī χ^vēš
bē brēhēnūt ut-aš brēh ut χ^varraḥ²
hač rōšnīh ī asar rōšnīh bē brēhēnūt*

The fire, most precious to Ōhrmazd, of men's body, that fire of the body, the jān (breath-soul), was created from his own will and thought and its *brēh*¹ (brilliance or fortune?) and χ^varraḥ (= χ^vēškārīh, intellectual force) were created from the light of the endless light.

¹ In 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀, 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 *brēh* two words have fallen together, one from *brag-* 'to shine', hence *brēh* = Skt. *tejas*, the other from *bray-* 'to cut, determine', whence also *brīn* 'destiny'.

² Cf. also DkM 425. 10 ff. *χ^vatāyih ī haft-kišvar χ^vatāyān hač ham dahyupatīh*

The olden heroes are defined in Dd 36. 26 as

avēšān vasān varčāvandān x^oarraḥ-kārān¹ dēn-burtārān vēh-rādēnī-tārān Those many workers with power, causers of fortune, supporters of the faith, organizers of good.

With this we shall compare DkM 435. 16:

vas advēnak x^oarraḥ-kārīh ut dēv ut druž-vānišnīh nimūtan Revealing many kinds of work tending to fortune and conquest of dēv and druž.

The hope of Ardašīr in the Kārnāmāk²

hakar yazdān x^oarraḥ ī ērānšahr ō adyārīh ī amāk rasēt bē bōxtēm ō nēvakīh ut hurvāpīh rasēm ut ētōn kunēm ku hač to farraḥ^otar andar gēhān kas nē bavēt If the divine x^oarraḥ ('fortune') of Ērānšahr comes to our aid, we escape and attain to fortune and ease, I will so act that no one in the world shall be more fortunate than you

shows x^oarraḥ in relation to nēvakīh and farraḥ^o.

The derived adjective x^oarraḥōmand is in constant use in the translations of Avestan texts and elsewhere (rendered into Skt. by *śrīmattara* in the Dāstān ī Mēnōk ī xrat) and is parallel to the use of the dialectal form farraḥ^o in other passages. For farraḥ^o, Pāzand *farōḥ*, we have the Sanskrit rendering *susamyddha-*, and for the antonym *dušfarrag*, Skt. *duṣṭa-samyddhi-* (Dāt. Mēnōk ī xrat 49. 2, 4), of which the meaning is unmistakable: Skt. *samyddhi-* is 'prosperity, fortune'.

So in Dd 36. 30 when it is said of Zoroaster, the *mart* <ī> *vazurk-x^oarraḥ* (DkM 611. 1) 'the man of great fortune', that he is:

farraḥ^otom ī zāyīšnān gētiyān rat ahrav zartuḥšt The most fortunate of beings born, religious chief of beings in the visible world, Zoroaster, maintainer of right.

The same statement is made in DkM 600. 21:

avē zātān farraḥ^otom That most fortunate of beings born.

In the Avesta we have x^oarənamuhastəmō zātānəm used of Yama, and x^oarənamuhastəma nāma of Ahura Mazdā. Of Zoroaster we find Yašt 19. 70 x^oarəno x^oarənamuhastəmō. It is used also of Mithra Yašt 19. 35 *yim fradaḥat ahurō mazdā x^oarənamuhastəməm mainya-*

¹ Cf. the *farxunda-kār* of the Šāhnāma.

² Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, p. 11.

vanəm yazatanəm which is rendered in GrBd 172. 12 by *kē dāt ōhrmazd x^oarraḥōmandtom hač mēnōkān yazdān* 'whom Ōhrmazd created possessed of most "force of fortune" of worshipped beings of the invisible world'.

In the Dāstān ī mēnōk ī xrat we find (61. 6) the *gāv ī x^oarraḥōmand* 'the cow possessing force of fortune', as we have *gaospənta-* in the Avesta.

The x^oarraḥ can be increased¹ or diminished. In DkM 564. 16 it is said *x^oarraḥ ī x^oēš aβzāyēt* 'he increases his own fortune' and in DkM 562. 16 *x^oarraḥ ī x^oēš kāstan* 'to diminish one's own fortune'. The x^oarraḥ can also be destroyed, as in DkM 794. 6 *dēvīh ut zat-x^oarraḥīh² ut pur-rēmanīh ut garān-gandīh ut garān-vināsih* 'demonism, destruction of fortune, pollution, grievous stench and grievous mischief'. The 'protection of fortune' x^oarraḥ-pātārīh is mentioned DkM 421. 16.

In the Pahlavi Texts (pp. 162 ff.) there is a complete text on the *farraḥ^o mart* whose fortune is interpreted from the point of view of one who has fulfilled his religious duties.

The antithesis to *farraḥ^o* is frequent and is expressed by *duš-x^oarraḥ* or *dušfarrag*, which correspond to the Avestan *dušx^oarənah* 'whose fortune is bad'. It is used of Alexander the *Hrōmāyīk* 'Roman (= Byzantine)' in DkM 405. 21-2:

vizand ī hač mar ī dušx^oarraḥ alaksandar ō ērān šahr The trouble which came to Ērānšahr from the villain of evil fortune Alexander.

Similarly DkM 679. 18:

višōpišn hač mar ī dušx^oarraḥ³ ēšm-kart alaksandar The destruction from the villain of evil fortune, created by Ēšm, Alexander.

In DkM 634. 22 we have the antithesis of *vēh-x^oarraḥ*:

vataktom ut dušx^oarrahtom Worst and most evil in fortune.

Hence *vat* was associated with *dušx^oarraḥ* as *nēvakīh* with *x^oarraḥ*.

The second form *dušfarrag* 𐭥𐭮𐭲𐭭 Pāzand *dušparg*, has as its second component the word attested on inscriptions as *plky^{*}farrak* in Pārsīk and in Pahlavīk *plk* (Paikuli A 9. 1, C 10. 3)

¹ Cf. also 'pčwt *GdH*, Paikuli E 16. 4, transliterated p. 109.

² As *zat-brēhīh* (DkM 565. 12) 'destruction of fortune'.

³ Cf. DkM 49. 14 *dušfarrag nikōhītak x^oatāy*.

and on seals *b'plky* **bē-farrak* 'having fortune from the *bay*' (Herzfeld, Paikuli, p. 81 = plate 140, no. 9). In the *Dāstān ī Mēnōk ī xrat* (49. 2, 4) *dušfarrag* is explained *dušta-samrddhi-* as noted above, p. 48. In the *GrBd* (51. 13) *dušfarragih* 'misfortune' is the name of that one of the *دلالات البيوت* 'indications of the houses'¹ which follows *farrax^vān* 'the fortunate'. In *DkM* 233. 4 *x^varrahōmand*, *hutōhmak*, *hugōhr* are contrasted with 7-8 *dušfarragih*, *duštōhmak*, and *dušgōhr*, and in *DkM* 235. 5 *dušfarragih* contrasts with *x^varrahōmandih*. In the story of Zoroaster it is told how the *dēvs* sought to drive out his mother (*DkM* 602. 17 ff.):

*ān āšōp ī dēvān dušfarragihā pat
uzdēhikēnitan ī ān kanīk kart
yazdān varčōvandihā ō matan ī
ān kanīk pat zanīh ō porušāsp ī
zartušt pūt vihanakēnūt*

That disturbance which the *dēvs* caused to drive into exile in misfortune that girl, the Yazdān made the cause, by exercise of power, of the coming of the girl to marriage with Porušāsp, father of Zoroaster.

Note, too, the contrast of *farrax^v* and *dušfarrag* in *DkM* 517. 5:

*farrax^v mart ruvān pahrēcēt
dušfarrag nē ruvān tan pahrēcēt*

The fortunate man is controlled by the intelligent soul, the unfortunate is controlled not by the soul, but by the body.

In the *Apyātkār ī Vazurg-Mihr* (Pahlavi Texts, p. 100) we find:

ut čē frāx^vtar. x^varrah ī rātān

What is broader? The fortune of the liberal.

ut čē tangtar. x^varrah ī panān²

What is narrower? The fortune of the niggardly.

This passage is preceded by the interesting question:

čē apēbīmihātar

What is more free of fear?

ābām ī nēvak ut x^vēškārih

The time of good things and fortune,

if *x^vēškārih* is here the equivalent of *x^varrah*.

Farrax^v and riches, *dušfarrag* and poverty and misfortune, are clearly in close connexion. Cf. also *DkM* 688. 7 *tuwānikih ut škōhīh ut farrax^vih ut dušfarragih*. In *DkM* 559. 16, 18 *dušpatēx^vih* is similar.

¹ H. Taqizadeh kindly identified these for me.

² On *pan* 'niggardly' R. C. Zaehner, BSOS ix. 317, has expressed a view I had myself also held. A Pāzand reading *panđi* (for *panih*) occurs Bahman Yašt 2. 35 (Antia, *Pāzand Texts*, 123. 5).

So far the ninth-century books: the old ideas of *hvarnah* were perpetuated and consistently interpreted as the fortune and prosperity whether of kings, whence sprang their majesty, or of heroes, and as the active generative force of increase possessed and exercised by the creator and the other *yazatas* resulting in the prosperity, riches, and good fortune of the approved man, but producing the opposite result in poverty, misery, and ill-fortune for the disapproved man. To this was added the belief in an inherent *x^varrah* identified with man's *baxt*, possibly under the influence of astrology. The *hvarnah* interpreted by *x^vēškārih* 'taking to oneself, apprehending' was also brought into relation with the mind.

This then is the conception of *hvarnah* in the Pahlavi books. In each case it is possible to recognize the basic thought of 'good things' and 'fortune' whether it appears as a hypostasis in the invisible world or is concerned with man's life on earth.

II

FARRAH OUTSIDE THE ZOROASTRIAN BOOKS

IN this second lecture we turn to a different world where Zoroastrian tradition was not known or was no longer recognized. This is first the Buddhist world of Central Asia east of Kashghar, where forms of the word *hvarnah* were in regular use.

Of the Old Iranian tradition something survived even when the people became Buddhists. In the Khotanese texts, written by Buddhists, we find, for example, *śśandrāmata* representing an O.Iran. **svantā ārmati-*, the Khotanese form of the phrase which appears in the Avesta as *spanta ārmaitiš*. This *śśandrāmata*, *śśamdrāmata* is used to translate the name of the Buddhist goddess of fortune, *Śrī*¹ (first noted BSOS viii. 142). So in the *Suvarṇabhāsa sūtra* 53 v 3-4 occurs:

*aṭavakatta kīntha puṇya-kusuma-
prabhā nāma uryānā vara ttiṇa
uryāṇa suvarṇa-dvaja nāma
haudā-ratamīgya bāsa² śśamdrā-
mata āste.*

In the city of Aṭavakatta there is a garden called Puṇya-kusuma-prabha. There in the garden in the *abode fashioned of the seven precious stones called Suvarṇa-dvaja Śśandrāmata dwells.

This is a translation of the Sanskrit text (ed. Nobel, p. 116): *adakāvatyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ puṇya-kusuma-prabhodyāna-vare suvarṇa-dhvaja-nāmnī saptaratnamaya-bhavana-vare śrī mahādevī prativasati*.

Similarly Khotanese *urmaysde* used for the 'sun' corresponds to O.Pers. *ahura-mazdā*; Khotanese *ysamaśśandai* 'the earth' represents an old collocation of O.Iran. *zam-* 'earth' with **svantakā-*, as in the Avesta *spanta ārmaitiš* is used of the earth, beside the old phrase *zqm pərəθwīm* (acc. sing.) 'the wide earth'. We note, however, that to translate the Sanskrit *dr̥dhā prthivī devatā* 'the firm goddess of earth' the Khotanese has *styūda śśandye dīvata* (*Suvarṇabhāsa* 4 v 7).

In the Sogdian texts the Buddhists used the old divine name 'zrw' **azruwā*, corresponding to Mid.Pers. *zurvān*, to express the

¹ Śrī is identified with *prthivī* 'earth', Hartmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Göttin Lakṣmī*, 11.

² *bāsa* = Skt. *vana*. Read *bīsa*?

name of the god *Brahmā*; and *rywšn 'yrwδm'n* 'bright garōdamān'.¹ We may mention here also the Manichean Sogdian 'ry'n *wyjn* **aryān wēžan* which is the Mid.Pers. *ērān vēž*, Henning, ZDMG 90 (1936), 5.

It will therefore not cause surprise if other Old Iranian ideas are adapted in Buddhist environment to new uses. Here it is a question of *hvarnah*.

We may start with the Sogdian. In the Sogdian 'Book of Recompenses',² ll. 490, 498, occurs the following collocation of words:

š't 't *prnywntk* (*šāt at *farna-* Rich and fortunate.
χwantak)

It will at once recall the *šāiti* and *vohu χ^oaranō* of the Art Yašt 6, quoted above, p. 4, and the use of Av. *χ^oaranahwant-* with *afnahwant-* above, p. 12. Happily the Chinese Buddhist text from which this was translated is known. Corresponding to the š't 't *prnywntk* of line 490 the Chinese text (plate LI, col. 2, 5) has 豪富長者 which Pelliot rendered by 'des notables puissants et riches'. The 富 *fu* which corresponds to *farnaxwantak* means opulence.³ The Sogdian of line 498 *AHRZY prw kt'm wy''k* "z'yt rty *ZK nws'kw š't 't prnywntk βwt* 'in whatever place he is born, he is always rich and fortunate' renders the Chinese (LI, col. 2, 7) 生處大富 'naître au milieu d'une grande richesse'. Here too 富 'opulence' is used.

In the Sogdian version of the story of Viśvantara⁴ occurs *zātak* with *farnaxwantak*:

¹ Tedesco, BSL 23 (1922) 111.

² *Sūtra des Causes et des Effets*, ed. Gauthiot and Benveniste.

³ In the French translation of the Sogdian we find 'riche et éclatant de gloire'. But this departs too far from the Chinese text which the Sogdian translator was rendering, and we shall note once more the central idea of *hvarnah*, that of prosperity or good fortune. The Sogdian translator had other phrases to express 'brilliance'. To translate the Chinese phrase (LI, col. 2, 6) 光明自照 'leur éclat brillera spontanément' in Pelliot's rendering, the Sogdian, 494, has *rywšny 'rδ'yp'kh 'rδ'ypt* in which the words correspond to Ossetic (Digor) *rox* 'light' and *ārdteu* 'to shine'. On this latter word see H. Reichelt, *Zeits. für Indol. und Iran.* 4. 247 f.; Benveniste in *Bull. Soc. Ling.* 1938, p. 44 wished to find *dīp-* here, but the Digor *-e-* excludes it.

⁴ VJ 31 f. = R. Gauthiot, 'Une version sogdienne du Vessantara Jātaka', *Journal Asiatique*, 1912.

rtý yw z'tk prnywnt'k βwtk'm

And the son will be fortunate.

When Viśvantara was seeking to fulfil his vow (*praṇidhāna*) to attain to the perfection of liberality (*dāna-pāramitā*), the recipients of his gifts spoke comfortable words to him (VJ 52 e):

rtý šy "prynh ZKw pwtý'kh ZY βyr And he blessed him, Receive the
rtý prnywnt'k βwy bodhi and be fortunate (*farna-
χwantak*)

In VJ 895 (and similarly 1198):

rtý šy "pryn prnywntk ZY βwy rty And he blessed him, Be fortunate
ZKw "γδ'kw βyr and attain this desire.

Sogdian *farnaχwantak* seems clearly then to correspond in meaning to Mid.Pers. *farrax*^o and in both form and meaning to N.Pers. *farxunda*.

The noun *farn*¹ likewise occurs in Sogdian. Here too we notice the equivalent of the Mid.Pers. word. So in VJ 221:

'wy n'β prn ZY "δwh The well-being and greatness of
the people.

A particular Buddhist use of *hvarnah* in Sogdian and, as we shall see below, also in Khotanese, has given the meaning of 'position' or 'stage' to *farn*. In the Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī-sūtra² in line 52 occurs *pwtý'kh prn *butiyak farn* 'the position of a Buddha', that is, the state of *bodhi* 'enlightenment'. The Sogdian was rendered from a Chinese text of the Dhāraṇī. In the extant Chinese versions (*Taishō Issaikyō*, vol. xx) we find for this passage in no. 1080, p. 196, col. 1, 9 菩提 a transcription of Sanskrit *bodhi*; in no. 1082, p. 199, col. 3, 23 佛 a transcription of *Buddha*; in no. 1083 智 'knowledge'. It is such a phrase as the Sogdian *pwtý'kh prn* that the Turks of Central Asia, who were so closely associated with the Sogdians as to have adopted the Sogdian script, translated by *burxan qutī* 'the *qut* of a Buddha', and they used furthermore the phrase *tört türlüg qut* 'the fourfold *qut*' to refer to the 'four stages' of Buddhist development.³ Turkish *qut*

¹ F. Rosenberg in 'Un fragment sogdien du Musée Asiatique', *Izvestia Akad. Nauk*, 1928, 1388 f., pointed out the connexion of *prn* **farn* with N.Pers. *farr*, which Gauthiot had overlooked.

² Ed. by F. W. K. Müller, SBAW, 1925.

³ Bang and von Gabain, *Türkische Turfan-Texte*, iv. 17. In Rachmati, *Türk. Turfan-T.* vii. 63 *biš qutlar* is 'the five elements'.

is 'fortune'. It is explained by Glück, Segen, Würde, Geist by Bang and von Gabain in their *Analytischer Index der Türkischen Turfan-Texte*, p. 38. It occurs also in the hendiadys *qut qīw* 'fortune', adjectival *qutluy qīwliγ* 'fortunate' (ibid., p. 38). In the story of Caṣtana (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* ii, 10, l. 55) occurs *qut tngriši* 'Glücksgott'.¹

In this use of *farn* we may understand *butiyak farn* to mean 'the fortune of the Buddha', that is, the rank or position to which fortune had brought him, passing simply to the meaning 'rank' or 'position'. As the Turkish use of *qut* (= *farn*) in the phrase *tört türlüg qut* shows, *farn* was not confined to one of the majesty of a Buddha, so that we need not seek an origin of this use in the 'Royal Fortune' of the Iranian kings.

Besides the phrase *pwtý'kh prn*, the word *prn* occurs also in line 10 of the Padmacintāmaṇi-dhāraṇī-sūtra in the phrase *prn ZY z'wr* (**farn at zāwar*), which has already attracted the attention of Fr. Weller in his notes to the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra. There are variations in the different Chinese texts of this Dhāraṇī. No. 1083 (p. 201, col. 3, 18) in the *Taishō Issaikyō* has 身有威德猶如日光 'his body has majesty and force resembling the sun's light' where the Sogdian has *rtý ZK prn ZY z'wr γwr 'ywnk' βwt* 'and the *farn* and might become of one kind with the sun'. No. 1082 (p. 199, col. 2, 24) has 其人德力如日 'this man's virtue and might are like the sun'. In no. 1080 (p. 195, col. 2, 29 f.) the simile is expanded and has induced by way of balance of phrase the transfer of the sun's light to the prior part of the statement. It reads then 威光如日破諸黑闇 'his majesty and brilliance are like the sun breaking up the darkness'.

The phrase is easily understood as a survival of older Iranian usage and can be compared with the *χ^oarraḥ ut ōž* of Pahlavi texts: 'fortune and might' is suitable in the context, possibly also with a reminiscence of the activity of the sun as one of the sources of 'good fortune'.

It is possible that the interpretation of *χ^oarraḥ*, associated with *frazānakih* 'wisdom', which we saw above, p. 37, is sufficiently old to be genetically connected with the use of Sogdian *farn* in the

¹ Cf. *kūcin kūstūnin čoyin yalīnūn qutīn qīwīn kōriip* 'seeing his strength, brilliance, and fortune', ibid. 10, l. 51 f.

phrase *pnč wkry prn* in the *pnč wkry prn rš'k* of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra 170 which renders the Chinese 五通仙人 'a *rṣi* having the five *abhijñās*', the five kinds of supernatural insight. In the same text a fuller phrase occurs: *pnč wkry prn 't z'wr pydh* 'elephants having the five kinds of farn and might', that is, the Chinese 五通, the five *abhijñās*.¹

It is possible if one admits a further development of meaning of *prn* from 'position' to 'external mark of position' to understand also the use of Sogdian *prn* to render Chinese 相 *siang* 'mark' which is a literal rendering of Skt. *lakṣaṇa*.² In the Dīrghanakha-sūtra 41 *nḥyγw ZY p'r'γz prn ZY šyr'č'y* renders the Chinese 微妙相好 'the *lakṣaṇas* and *anuvyanjanas*'. Similarly in the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra 86. The thirty-two *lakṣaṇas* are named in the Dhyāna-text, Benveniste, *Journal As.* (1933), 2. 224.³

The Buddhist use of *prn* for Skt. *lakṣaṇa* is then found also in Manichean texts, as will appear below, p. 61, where also the Chinese used 相. It will be recalled that the Buddhist terminology preceded the Manichean in Central Asia.

To this Sogdian material should be added the evidence of the Sogdian letters of uncertain date edited from the British Museum texts by H. Reichelt. A word *prn* occurs in letter 3, line 7 *pr tw' prn* 'by your good fortune (?)' and an adjectival *prnχwnt* **farnaχ-want* corresponding to Av. *χ^oarənahvant-* without the suffixed *-k* of *farnaχwantak*. The contexts, however, are too obscure to decide the meaning here intended. In document 11 the opening phrase reads *MNβyyšty prnβyrtty prnγwnty γwβšty* 'from the lords, prosperous and fortunate kings'. A similar collocation occurs in the Sogdian inscription of Karabalgasun⁴ where *prn* translates Turkish *qut* 'fortune'.

¹ See Fr. Weller, *Asia Major*, x (1935), 356; *Zum soghdischen Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxii. 6 (1937), p. 24, where the corresponding Tibetan *mñon-śes* 'abhijñā' is also quoted.

² The corresponding Tibetan text has *mēchan-rnams* 'signs', quoted by Weller, *Zum soghd. Vimal.*, p. 85.

³ It will then not be necessary to assume either that *prn* is a form of *pryn* 'sign' or a misreading or wrong hearing of *pryn*, as Weller was led to suggest by this use of *prn*, *Asia Major*, x. 225.

⁴ O. Hansen, 'Zur soghdischen Inschrift auf dem dreisprachigen Denkmal von Karabalgasun', *Journ. Soc. Finn-Ougr.* xlv (1930), pp. 15, 38.

We have secondly the Khotanese evidence. Here too an equivalent of O.Iran. *hvarnah* survived, as was pointed out in BSOS viii. 914 f. It has the form *phārra-*, regularly representing **farnah-* and is used like the Sogdian *farn* in the sense of 'position'. The four stages of the developing Buddhist, those of *srota-āpanna* 'who has entered the stream', *sakṛd-āgāmin-* 'once returning', *anāgāmin-* 'not returning', and *arhant* 'the worthy', are in Khotanese called *tcohora phārre*.¹ So the *paḍā phārrā* 'the first stage' corresponds to Tibetan *ṣugs-paḥi ḥbras-bu* (= *srotaāpatti*) in the Sanghāṭa-sūtra 121 b 2. In the same text we find 33 a 5-33 b 2 <*paḍāna phārrāna* 'first stage'; *śātu phārru bustā* 'he was enlightened to the second stage'; *dādu phārru bustā* 'he was enlightened to the third stage'. A compound also occurs *prrodaphārra-* 'who has attained the (first) stage' representing an O.Iran. **parāfta-farnah*.²

So far this is the only meaning of *phārra-* noted in these Khotanese texts. They expressed 'fortune, welfare' by a derivative of *baχš-* 'distribute', namely *ḥemañā* from **baχšman-*.³

We have, however, to trace the word further outside the Iranian languages, in Central Asia, in the languages of Kuci (modern Kuchā), and of Agni (modern Karashahr). In both these languages a form of *hvarnah*, probably derived from the Sogdian, if not from an older form of Khotanese *phārra*,⁴ serves to render Skt. *pada-* 'position'. In the language of Agni the forms are *parām* (final *anusvāra -ṃ* indicates a final *-n*) and *parn-*, in Kuchean *perne*. So in Agnean is found *puttišparn-* 'position of a Buddha' corresponding to the Sogdian *pwty'kh prn*, and in Kuchean *pelaiknentse perne*⁵ renders Skt. *dharmapada*, in which the word *pada* has been rendered as the usual *pada-* 'position' somewhat cavalierly for the sense. Corresponding to the use of *parn-* in Agnean *puttišparn-* 'position of a Buddha', the Kuchean has *perne* in the compound *perneñkāl-patte* 'who has not attained a stage' rendering Skt. *prthagjana-* 'ordinary person', as recognized by E. Sieg⁶ in the text edited by

¹ E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus* (= E), 14. 16. ² Instr. sg. *phārrāna* and loc. plur. *phārrvā* also occur.

³ See BSOS viii. 914.

⁴ I would recognize more borrowing from Sogdian (or into Sogdian) than I admitted in BSOS viii. 905 ff., and am pleased to see from ZDMG 92 (1938), *20 that Hansen has studied these loan-words to distinguish Sogdian and Khotanese. ⁵ Sylvain Lévi, *Textes koutchéens*, Udānastotra 8 b 4.

⁶ 'Die Kutschischen Karmavibhaṅga-Texte der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris', *Zeits. für Vergl. Sprachforschung*, 65, p. 28.

Sylvain Lévi.¹ This word seems not to be found, or at least yet to have been pointed out, in the primary sense of 'good fortune' in these languages, but such a meaning, found in Sogdian, evidently lies at the base of the Agnean adjectival derivative *parno* and the abstract *parnore*, with the Kuchean abstract *pernerne* (quoted in Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, p. 11). In Agnean occurs among many passages such a collocation as (271 b 3):

mañkātt oki parnoñcās wrasa (s) Beings possessed of *farnah* like the moon-god.

Here we could suppose the full meaning of Mid.Pers. *χ^oarra-hōmand* and *farraχ^o* 'fortunate' as used of a man, to be intended or a reminiscence of *χ^oarra-hōmand* or its equivalent used of the moon, that is, possessed of *farnah* and hence bestowing it; or here the full meaning of *farnah* may have been obscured and a vague 'majestic' may be intended, just as Mid.Pers. *rāyōmand* rendering Av. *raēvant-*, *raēva-* is interpreted not only by Skt. *ṛddhimant-* 'rich' but also by the vaguer *tejasvin-* 'majestic, splendid' alluding to the external mark, the outward result of good fortune in the case of a king or a god, or as Syriac 'yqr-' 'honour' could be used for *farrah*, as above, p. 47. We shall meet this same treatment of *farrah* below.

We have now to consider a more complicated problem. The Buddhist world of Central Asia adapted Iranian terminology to a certain extent only. It preferred usually to take over the Indian Buddhist technical terms in greater measure. But to the west of Persia two powerful religious movements sent out missionaries during the Sasanian period, the Manichean and the Christian, and at the end of the Sasanian period came the Muslims. They in turn found it desirable to adapt many terms in Persian use to new ideas. How the Manicheans used such a name as *Zurvān* is now well known.² There is precisely here a risk of attributing meanings to older Iranian texts which are actually due to Manichean or Christian adaptation of Old Iranian words. This is particularly the case with the word *hvarnah*.

It is necessary to refer here to distinct conceptions in the

¹ *Textes koutchéens*, Karmavibhanga 6 b 6.

² For the general missionary activity of the Manicheans one may refer to H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildung des manichäischen Systems*, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg, iv (1927). Cf. also the Manichean use of *frwrt* and *mrdsprnd*.

references to kings and their high position, which, failing a somewhat delicate analysis, could be easily confused. This grandeur of the kings conferred upon them an external brilliance and splendour, in the maintenance of which good fortune, expressed by *hvarnah*, was a requisite ingredient, but not the whole, and we should seriously err if we failed to keep in mind this distinction between the two conceptions. We have seen that the king had *hvarnah* 'good fortune' without which he could not continue to be king; by means of his *hvarnah* he 'increased' (*aβzāyēnēt*) the prosperity of the world. But he had also a splendour of position beyond, though dependent, on his good fortune. To express this splendour we find such expressions as the following in the ninth-century books. In the Dēnkart (DkM 326. 18 ff.) there is reference to the three superior forces of action (*zōr ī kunišn*), the first knowledge (*dānišn*) having its source in the dastavars and the Vēh-dēn, the second *aβrōčāk χ^oatāyih* 'splendid lordship', exercised in warriorship (*kārikih*) in the world, the third, the *zōr ī pat čišān* 'the force in things' which causes the movement of creatures (*raβākīh <ī> dām*) and order in the world (*vīmārišn ī andar gēhān*). In the Dēnkart (DkM 365. 3 ff.) we find also a warning before the raising up (*aβrāstišnih*) and the appointment of a bad king and false judge, the *dušχ^oatāy* and the *zūr dātaβar*. The bad king will make the splendour of lordship to be hidden (365. 15):

ut brēh ut bām ī χ^oatāyih nihumbāt He will conceal the splendour¹ and brilliance² of kingship.

As a symbol of this kingship in the dream of Pāpak in the Kārnāmak ī Artaxšēr ī Pāpakān we find the sun illuminating the whole world (Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 2, § 9 = ed. Noshervan, § 5):

pāpak šap-ē pat χ^oamn dīt čēgōn kaδ Pāpak one night saw in a dream
χ^oaršēt hač sar ī Sāsān bē tāft ut how the sun shone from the
hamāk gēhān rōšnīh kart head of Sāsān and made the whole world bright.

The interpretation of this vision is given by the dream-interpreters (*χ^oamn-vičārān*):

ān kē ēn χ^oamn patiš dīt avē ayāp He who was seen in the dream,
hač frazandān ī ān mart kas-ē either he or one of his children

¹ Or 'destiny', see above, p. 45, note 1.

² Cf. the *bām ī ōš* 'the brilliance of dawn' Dāstān ī dēnīk, K 35, 199 r 5, and the *navak bām ut navak hugōnīh*, above, p. 17.

Buddhist texts and to the Sanskrit Buddhist *lakṣaṇa* as noted above, p. 56. These are the results of mechanical transference of values in translations. For the same reason we find that the Armenians, after using *p'ark'* to render Greek *δόξα* 'glory', then used *p'ark'* also for *δόξα* 'opinion'. It is a common development in a literature of translation.

The Christians, like the Manicheans, used a form of *hvarnah* to express 'glory' in translating the Greek *δόξα*. This is clear in Armenian Christian texts. We saw above, p. 38, that there are traces of a use of *p'ark'* to express 'fortune, good fortune' in Armenian books, but the predominant sense became that of the Christian 'glory', beside which stands also the less emphatic meaning of simple 'honour' or 'praise'.

After the Manichean and Christian activities in Persia and the well-known influence of Jewish and Christian teachings upon Islamic thought, it is hardly to be expected that the primary meaning of *hvarnah* 'good fortune, prosperity' should be preserved intact in Muslim books. And in fact while old ideas do survive, the word may in the texts written in New Persian be given the less definite meanings of 'glory' or simply 'high position'. The Parsi-Persian texts reflect the same influences. It is true that in the archaizing poetry of Firdausī old phrases survive.¹ Here are found *farxunda-kār* 'of prosperous deeds', *farxunda-baxt* 'of prosperous fortune', the *farr i kayī* (or *kayāni*) 'the fortune of the Keys'. With *farrahī* 'good fortune' is associated *pērōzi* 'victoriousness' in the phrase *pērōzi u farrahī*. So also occur such phrases as *farr i šāh* 'fortune of the king', *farr i yazdān* 'the fortune-bestowing force of God', *farr u aurang* 'fortune and high rank', *farr u jāh* 'fortune and position', *farr u zēb* 'fortune and honour', *farr u burz* 'fortune and high position'. The words *farrah*, *farrux*, *farruxī* are also used.

In the Parsi-Persian books *xurrah* is explained as عظمت و زبانی *ʿazamat u zibāi* 'greatness and honour',² and in the translation of Nigāyišn 5 Pahlavi *pur-χ^oarrahih* is rendered both by *pur-xurrah* and by *pur-nūr* 'full of light', where the sense of Mid.Pers. *bām* 'brilliance' as used of sovereignty will be recognized. The

¹ All references to *farr* and cognate words are now easily to be found in the valuable *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname* of Fritz Wolff, 1935.

² *Sitzb. Wien. Akad. Wiss.* 67. 844, 2.

Persian lexicons also read *nūr* 'light' as a meaning of *farr* (as quoted by Vullers). When the Arabic geographer Balādhuri (ed. de Goeje 386. 13) uses *buhā* 'glory' in explaining the name of a town:

و معنى أردشير خره بهاء. أردشير
The meaning of Ardašīr-xurrah is the 'glory' of Ardašīr,

he is expressing a similar idea. So also when Mas'ūdi¹ renders *بهجة وسعادة* by *خره وخرم* 'splendour (or joyousness) and happiness'. In all this the original conception is diluted by foreign thought.

As soon, however, as we turn once more to a source where Muslim and Christian ideas have had little influence, to the remnants of the Scythians, we find once again in the Ossetic languages the old meaning in its full strength. The still incomplete dictionary of Vs. Miller and A. Freiman² translates Iron *farn*, Digor *farnā* by 'peace, abundance, good fortune', and quotes the Iron phrases *farn uād am* 'peace be here', and *āldār, āldār, de 'zād, de 'zād, dā fārny stām* 'Āldar, Āldar,³ I swear by your angel, your angel, by your good fortune'. Similarly in derivatives Iron, Digor *fārnāi* 'fortunately', *fārnāidzag* 'prosperous, rich, luxuriant, blest', Iron *fārnāžyn*, Digor *farngun, fārnāgun* 'living in peace, rich, content', *fārnýg* 'rich, fortunate' with the phrase *māgūr āmā fārnýg* 'the poor and the rich'. Two phrases are quoted from hunting talk behind which the thought of 'fortune, luck' is probably lurking: *fārnā sxelui* 'the sun rises' and *zānxonug fārnā sxelui* 'the mist rises'. Recently I noticed in a Russian newspaper reference to an Ossetian farm with the name *Farn* 'Good Luck'.

A parallel case illustrating how an Old Iranian meaning may be retained in Ossetic is the word *ard* 'oath' which is a specialization of the O.Iran. *rta*-.

A further problem of *farrah* has yet to be considered. Among the Kushans, the successors of the Greeks, who had settled after Alexander the Macedonian in Bactria and the regions to the south, a considerable intermixture of religious ideas is clearly exhibited

¹ *Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, ii. 229.

² Vsevolod F. Miller, 'Osetinsko-Russko-Nemetskij Slovar', i-iii, 1927-34, edited by A. Freiman, iii. 1340: мир, обилие, счастье, Friede, Überfluss, Glück.

³ *Ossetic Dict.* i. 112: āldar Aeltester, Vorstand, Fürst.

by their coinage.¹ Both male and female types are present on the coins, often nimbate² or radiate. Certain of these deities are of interest here. One ΑΘΡΟ or ΑΘΡΟ 'fire' is described by Gardner³ as Hephaistos, with flames rising from the shoulders, and holding hammer and tongs. More directly interesting us, however, is ΦΑΡΡΟ or ΦΑΡΡΟ described by Gardner⁴ as a male figure, diademed and nimbate, clad in a chiton and himation, holding a spear in the left hand and mountain or fire in the right. On another⁵ coin ΦΑΡΡΟ is described as a male deity, with head winged, diademed, with flames rising from the shoulders, wearing coat and chlamys, holding fire in the right hand and in the left grasping a sword at the waist. The figures of the kings also appear diademed and nimbate, as does Huviška (Gardner, p. 136). Similarly Śiva named ΟΗΡΟ and identified by his attributes (Gardner, lxxv, and pp. 132, 147) is nimbate on coins of Huviška and Kaniška. On another coin of Huviška (Gardner, p. 151) ΦΑΡΡΟ is described as a male deity with head winged, nimbate, wearing coat and chlamys with right hand advanced, holding a long sceptre in his left hand, and with sword at waist. The fire or mountain is here absent and appears not to be an essential attribute. On a coin of Huviška (Whitehead, p. 196) ΦΑΡΡΟ is described as having a purse in his outstretched hand.

It was naturally early recognized and is now generally admitted that the name ΦΑΡΡΟ was a form of the O.Iran. *hvarnah*. Of the attributes on the coins, the sceptre may be thought to indicate royalty and so to recall the 'Fortune of the Kays', the *kayān* *χ^oarrah*, of the Zoroastrian books. One must of course admit the possibility of a transference of attributes in a syncretic religious system. The type of ΦΑΡΡΟ has, with the flames rising from the shoulders, affinity with the Hephaistos of the coins with the legend ΑΘΡΟ 'fire'. Here is perhaps an allusion to such a belief as was

¹ Percy Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, in the British Museum*, 1886; M. Aurel Stein, 'Zoroastrian Deities on the Indo-Scythian Coins' in *The Babylonian and Oriental Record* (1887), no. 10, adapted with additions in *Indian Antiquary*, 17 (1888), 89 ff.; Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1892; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, 1906; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, 1914.

² On the nimbus, see L. Stephani, *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*, 1859, and A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 34 ff.

³ P. 136, a coin of Huviška.

⁴ P. 132, a coin of Kaniška.

⁵ P. 150, a coin of Huviška.

expressed by the use of the epithet *farn-bay* 'distributor of good fortune' applied to the fire of the priestly class, above, p. 44, unless indeed we are to recognize in it a fusion of the *bām ī χ^oatāyih* 'brilliance of lordship' with the 'royal fortune'. It is doubtful if a pure Iranian tradition can be expected here.

It will be necessary to consider also the more complicated problem of the coins with legend ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ. Gardner (p. lxiv) described this female figure as holding a cornucopiae (pp. 130 ff.) and as nearer to the Greek Τύχη 'good fortune' than to any other figure. Whitehead (p. 212) describes a seated goddess holding fillet and cornucopiae. Mr. C. T. Seltman has kindly expressed to me his view that the seated ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ is derived from the seated Τύχη of Antioch, who in turn has connexions with Kybele, but that Demeter should be excluded from this case. Τύχη is usually standing like the standing ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ. E. Herzfeld,¹ who considers the type to represent Demeter,² proposed to recognize in ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ the *χ^oarāsān χ^oarrah* attested in N.Pers. form *خراسان خرّه* as the epigraph on a state seal of *Khusrau II Parvēr*³ and to identify her also with the radiate goddess on coins of *Khusrau II* (p. 147) and the two capitals at Isfahān (p. 146 and plate x) whose radiate nimbus he considers to be derived from the fire-god ΑΘΡΟ (pp. 147, 156). Mas'ūdī, in the passage cited, describes nine seals (*khawātim*) used by *Khusrau II* with the cuttings on each except the ninth. They are as follows: (1) portrait (*šūrah*) and titles of the king, (2) *χ^oarāsān χurrah*, (3) a galloping horseman, (4) *بالمال ينال الفرح* 'by riches prosperity increases', (5) *χurrah wa χurram* explained 'splendour (or joyousness) and happiness', (6) eagle, (7) fly (*ذباب*), (8) head of a pig. There seems no reason to suppose that the *χ^oarāsān χurrah* is a divine figure, god or goddess, nor that it has any connexion with ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ. H. H. Schaeder⁴ had proposed to identify with ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ the *bg'rd w'χš* (**bay-ard vāχš*) of the Manichean Acts of the Apostles,⁵ assuming that *Ard* represented Av. *arədvī*, and that -ΟΧΡΟ (**-oχšo*) was the name of the Oxus river, in Arabic

¹ *Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran*, ix. 157.

² The cornucopiae suits rather Τύχη or a river-god.

³ Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ii. 228, ll. 8 ff.

⁴ 'Iranica', *Abhand. der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1934, pp. 75 ff.

⁵ Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, ii, pp. 12-14.

وخش *Wayš* of whom Al-Bairūnī¹ stated that it was the angel (ملك) presiding over water generally and especially over the river Jaiḥūn (= Oxus), to whom a feast, *wayšangām*, was dedicated. It is fairly certain that the coin legend OAXPO and OXPO with the figure of an old man, after the Greek manner of representing a river-god, is the river Oxus. But difficulties for APΔOXPO remain. For the first component we meet at once the problem of interpreting PΔ. What O.Iran. *rd* had become in the language represented on the Kushan coins is not known. Did it remain *rd*? It may be doubted. In a different and more difficult position initially in the group *dr-* the *d-* is represented by Λ² as in ΑΡΟΟΑΠΟ (**brooaspo*) and one should perhaps expect O.Iran. **ardvi* to appear in this Eastern dialect as **arl*, or, if the *v* affected the preceding vowel, **orl*. For the O.Iran. *rt* a voiced group *rd* is possible on the coins. In Sogdian, a distinct language but with some affinity, as for example in the treatment of *θr* > *θš* > *š*,³ is found in Buddhist texts *rt*, as also in Manichean Sogd. *mrtyy* 'man' (beside the Western loan-word *mrδ'spnd* 'element' with *rt* > *rδ*),⁴ and Christian Sogd. *mrty* 'man', *mwrty* 'dead' (beside the loan-word *mrd'spnty*). The New Sogdian Yaghnābī has *rt*. The second part of the word is also difficult. OAXPO or OXPO for Oxus is sufficiently clear. But to trace such a word in APΔOXPO seems to give no meaning. The word *w'χš* in Manichean texts, *vχš*⁵ in Zoroastrian texts, also seems unsuitable. If it is based upon a translation of Greek (Christian) λόγος or its Syriac equivalent *mlt*, it could hardly appear for 'genius' or 'spirit' in the Eastern Iranian atmosphere of the Kushan coins at the time of Kaniška.

G. Hoffmann⁶ proposed to identify APΔOXPO with the Avestan

¹ *Chronology*, text ed. Sachau, p. 237, l. 15.

² Such an initial group of consonants is represented by *ṽr-*, *ler-* in Munjāni *ṽrovo* 'reaping', *lerāšō* 'awl' (N.Pers. *durūdan*, *dirāš*), and medially *rd* became Munjāni *-l-* (Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Lang.* ii. 62, 81).

³ If Al-Bairūnī's *اس* (*Chronology*, ed. Sachau, p. 46, l. 19) and Freiman's reading of the Sogdian documents 'ts or 'tš in *Datirovannye sogdijskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tadžikistane*, Akad. Nauk, 1936, p. 149, note 1, and *Sogdijskij rukopisnyj dokument astrologičeskogo soderžanija*, p. 36, are correct, they can be considered to represent the form preceding the Manichean Sogdian 'š, Henning, *Orientalia*, 1938, p. 91.

⁴ Cf. the Sogdian transcription of Mid.Parth. *mwrđg'n* by *mwrđk'n* with *rδ*, A. Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe* (1939), p. 97. ⁵ BSOS vi. 280 ff.

⁶ *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, Abhand. für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, 1880, p. 147.

Aši 'fortune' and Henning proposed the same for the Manichean *bg'rd* **bay-arδ*.¹ Schaefer objected that *bay* was avoided by Zoroastrian theologians and that *aši* was purely Zoroastrian.² Neither objection seems of weight. The second objection would apply even more forcibly to *arδvi* which has not even calendrical use. The word *baya* was commonly used by Zoroastrians from the Avesta onwards. On the Sasanian inscription of Naqš i Rustam³ we have Pārsik *ptkly* ZNH 'whrmzdy [bg]y, Pahlavik *ptkr* ZNH 'hwrmzd ALHA where *bay* is to be read, and the phrase⁴ in Manichean texts Mid.Pers. *ōhrmizd bay* and Mid.Parth. *ōhrmizd bay* are likely to be phrases adopted from the Zoroastrians. It had the distinct meaning 'distributor' and hence differed from *yazata* 'worshipped being'. As the presiding deity of the twenty-fifth day of the month, Art was familiar not only in the Western calendar but in those also of Sogdiana and Chorasmia, as we saw above, p. 3, note 1.

The coin types of APΔOXPO both standing and sitting correspond to types of Greek Τύχη 'Fortune'. This also was the meaning of Av. *aši*, Mid.Pers. *art* (O.Iran. *rti-*).

The second component -OXPO has a group of consonants -χš- which has been in this word tacitly and without hesitation considered to represent O.Iran. χš. In OAXPO and OXPO 'Oxus', **vaxšu-*, we have clearly O.Iran. χš. But we are dealing with a language in which as in AΘPO **āθšo* from **āthro* (appearing as *āš* in Sogdian and *āl* in Yaghnābī) *š* may have an origin different from O.Iran. *š*. It is possible therefore that in XP also the *š* does not always represent O.Iran. *š*. It cannot be assumed without proof.

The divine names on the coins belong to at least two different linguistic traditions. So MIIPO **mihira* O.Iran. *miθra-* and PAHPHOAP Mid.Pers. *šahrēvar* have a different treatment of *θr* from that in AΘPO. If now APΔOXPO is Eastern, the second component -OXPO must be considered more carefully. It is to be recalled that a Pamir dialect, the Wakhī of Wakhān in the Oxus region, has fused into the one sound χš the two O.Iran. sounds χš

¹ *Mitteliran. Manich.* ii, p. 14, note 2.

² *Iranica*, p. 76.

³ See Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 85.

⁴ See Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis d. mitteliran. Mundarten*, iii, *passim*. Note also the *Bayān nask* 'the nask of the bays' and Zātspram 30. 5 *māh bay* 19).

⁵ χ representing a velar fricative tending either to χ or to š, Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Lang.* ii. 443, 466.

and *hv*. So *Wuχ* 'Wakhān' with the adjective *χik,šik* 'Wakhī', beside Mid.Iran. *vaxš*, and *yeχk* 'learning', O.Iran. **yuxšaka-*, beside *χat* 'self', O.Iran. **hvatah*, and *wuχan* 'blood', O.Iran. **vahvami-*. Since this has occurred in *Wakhī* we must ask if something similar could have happened in the language of the Kushan coins. Assume that in *APΔOXPO* the group *XP* represents O.Iran. *hv* in an Eastern Iranian dialect and we shall have an O.Iran. **rti(š) vahvī* in which O.Iran. *-hv-* has been fused to a sound represented by *XP* which could also represent O.Iran. *χš*. It will be seen that coin types will best fit the hypostatized fortune **rti*; the compound form is explained, the old epithet being absorbed into the name as in Mid.Pers. *ašišvang ī vēh*, *χ^varšēt*, *artavahišt*; and the form corresponding to Mid.Sogd. *اردخ* and Chorasmian *ارجوخی* is found. The difficulty of assuming that *PA* represented O.Iran. *rd* in an Eastern dialect which used *Λ* for initial *d-*; the difficulty of admitting *vāχš* 'spirit' (if based on *λόγος*) into the Kushan language; and the difficulty of interpreting the river *Vaxšu* in this compound, all disappear.

There remains the Manichean phrase *bg'rd w'χš*. Here two explanations are possible. Either the divine name *bay-arδ* alone was received by the Manichean traveller and he himself added *vāχš* pleonastically beside *bay*, as one finds *ašišvang ī vēh*, *kay-vištāsp šāh* (*Aḫyātkār ī Zarērān* § 39), and N.Pers. *Kay Kāūs* with pleonastic additions, a widespread linguistic phenomenon, or the Manichean writer had heard or heard of *APΔOXPO* in that region and had kept *vāχš* as part of the name (so that we should have in it a dialectal form of *vahv-*), perhaps assuming that it was the same as his own Western *vāχš* 'spirit' without recognizing its affinity to his Western *vēh*.

It may be useful to recall here that as *Τύχη* had connexions with Kybele and hence with the earth, so also we find *śśandrāmata* in Khotanese, corresponding in form to Av. *spānta ārmaitiś* the goddess of earth, but used to translate the name of the Buddhist goddess of Fortune *Śrī*, above, p. 52, who was at times identified with *prthivī* 'earth'.

We come now to the linguistic evidence in relation to *hvarnah*. Not that linguistic evidence whether etymological or morphological can be used to discover the meaning of any word, but the

conception of *hvarnah* has been so long dominated by an etymology that it cannot be entirely passed over here.

First the form of the word *hvarnah* permits of several Indo-European forms **swer-nes-*, **swer-a-nes-* (or with *l* in place of *r*), and also alternatively with partial reduction *sw'r-*. In Old Indian the corresponding forms would be **svarṇas-*, **svariṇas-* neither of which is found.¹

On the suffix *-nes-* we have a study by A. Meillet.² He traces the derivatives in *-nes-* to a form in *-no-*, and concludes (p. 256) that 'ceux en *-nes-* étaient tout particulièrement employés pour les notions qui se rattachent à la propriété, au prêt, etc.'. Among the numerous examples of *-nes-* in the known Indo-European languages he cites the following besides others: Skt. *dráviṇas* beside *dráviṇa-m* 'goods', Av. *draonah-*, Skt. *ápnas-*, Av. *afnah-* 'riches' beside Skt. *apna-* in *apnarāj-*, and Old Icelandic *efni* 'materials, fortune', Greek *κτήνεια* plur. 'possessions' beside *κτηνο-* in compounds, *δάνος* 'money lent at interest', Lat. *fēnus* 'product, interest' (comparing *fēlix*, *fēcundus*, *fētus*), *pignus* 'pledge', *mūnus* 'gift'. Other uses of the suffix are noted as in Av. *tafnah-* 'heat' beside *tafnu-* 'fever', Skt. *énas-*, Av. *aēnah-* 'mischief'. Meillet compared also the suffix of Av. *χ^varēnah-*, O.Pers. *farnah-*, which he rendered by 'éclat', with that of Greek *γλήνιος* 'brilliant object' and *γάνος* 'éclat'. He considered also the use of IE. *-es-* as a secondary suffix.

Secondly, is it possible to trace the verbal base to which the *hvar-* of *hvarnah* belongs? The attempt to connect it with the noun Skt. *svàr* 'sky, sun', Av. *hvar-* 'sun' has little to recommend it. It has probably survived from early Avestan studies, since we find Spiegel³ without a strict proof of the original meaning of *hvarnah* and believing also that he could see Semitic influence in the use of *hvarnah* and an analogue to the Shekinah, gave an etymology from Indian *sva-* 'to shine' and believed, nowadays an impossibility, that he could derive *farnah* from a word connected

¹ If Old Indian *svaṇa*, *suvarṇa* 'gold' is not named from the colour, which is, however, most likely, it could represent IE. **swer-no-*.

² Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, 25, *Sur le suffixe indo-européen -nes-*.

³ Kuhn's *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, v (1868), 385-96, *Die Lehre von der Majestät im Avesta; Commentar über das Avesta*, ii. 66; *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 42 f.

with Greek $\pi\upsilon\rho$ and $\pi\acute{\iota}\mu\pi\rho\eta\mu\iota$. He quoted the opinion of the 'younger Aspendiārji'¹ in his Gujarati translation of the Yasna that the *hvarnah* was a 'Lichtglanz'.

Morphologically Skt. *svār-*, Av. *hvar-* represent IE. **sə-wel-*² beside which **sə-wen-* is attested in Gathic Avestan gen. sing. $\chi^{\nu}\tilde{e}ng = *huwanh$. Theoretically a denominative can be formed from such a nominal base. A Skt. *svarati* 'shines' exists and in Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, ii. 531, it is considered to be the same as Skt. *svāratī* 'sounds', but it could also be connected with IE. **swel-* 'burn' in O.Engl. *swelan* 'burn slowly', Lith. *svilti* 'to singe'.

But the justification for starting from such a meaning for *hvarnah* seems slight. It seems that Spiegel, and the Parsi opinion he quoted, had been influenced by a similarity of sound of Av. *hvar-* 'sun', and by the use of Arabic-Persian *nūr* 'light' in the latest type of Parsi translation text to render χurrah . This was to start from a late contaminated meaning, where fortune had been fused with the splendour of lordship, invalid for Old Iranian.

It is necessary to start from a different point. Since *hvarnah* is a possession which assures good fortune, it will be well to trace a verbal base, to which the suffix *-nes-* indicating 'possession' was attached with a meaning which could reasonably lead to the conception of 'riches, fortune'.

Two sources are commonly represented in such derivatives. So Lithuanian *lōbis* 'goods, possessions, riches' has been traced to a connexion with Skt. *labhate* 'he gets' (Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wb.* ii. 385); Serbian *ūdes* 'ill fortune' belongs with O.Slav. *desiti* 'to find', Av. *dasa-*, *dāsmani-*, *dasvar-*; Av. *aši-*, Mid.Pers. *art* 'fortune' is from *ar-* 'to get'; Skt. *védas-* 'possessions' is connected with *vindate* 'finds'; Skt. *sampad-* 'wealth, prosperity' from *pad-yate* 'attains'; Mid.Pers. *baxt* 'fortune' is something received as a share from *bag-* 'to share'. The other source is the 'increase', of which such Iranian words as *aβzōn*, *aβzūt*, *sūra-*, above, p. 15, are examples, beside Skt. *ṛddhi-* 'increase, prosperity', *sphṛiti-* 'abundance, prosperity', *vṛddhi-* 'increase, prosperity, wealth, property',

¹ Spiegel, *Commentar über das Avesta*, ii, Einleitung iv.

² \tilde{e} is here used to avoid complications in regard to the laryngeal theories, but I myself should understand it to represent a consonant.

puṣti- 'possessions', *tokāvat puṣtimād vāsu* (Rgveda iii. 13. 7) 'wealth of offspring and possessions'.

For the second meaning 'increase' as a source of the word *hvarnah* it would be possible to refer to IE. **swel-* attested in O.Engl. *swēllan* 'to swell' which Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleich. Wb.* ii. 531 recognized only in Germanic languages. But for the first meaning 'get' with its cognates 'take, receive, desire', a word lies ready to hand in Iranian, the word *hvar-* 'to take, desire to get'. The evidence must be presented in some detail since the word in the meaning 'take' has not hitherto received much prominence in Iranian studies. It will be well to start with the less-known Khotanese evidence where the words concerned are *nihvarr-*, *buhurs-*, and *hvarandai*. It will be necessary to establish the meaning of the first two by a quotation of the few passages where they occur.

The word *nihvarr*¹ can be defined accurately in Khotanese texts by comparison with the parallel versions in Chinese and Tibetan or the original Sanskrit.

In the Ananta-mukha-nirhāri-dhāraṇī-sūtra, the fragments of which were edited by E. Leumann,² occurs the following passage:

Khotanese

Tibetan (Derge ed., vol. 88,
fol. 66, l. 6)

ka brīyau vātā ne nāhvarrde
ka ne arāyā³ nā hāmāte

hdod-pa-rnams-la lhag-par chags-pa
med-pa yin,
sens-can thams-cad-la⁴ phrag-dog
med-pa yin

'If he does not ardently desire lusts, if envy is absent. . .'

The Chinese⁵ has 厭離愛欲 'he rejects passionate desires'.

The meaning of Tibetan *lhag-par chags-pa*, which corresponds

¹ For the preservation of *-h-* after *i*, instead of the *-š-* which would be expected in an Old Iranian compound, one may refer also to *ttāhvaittā*, *ttāhvastā* **(a)ti-hvad-*, and *ttuhoštāndi*. A base *θvar-* ($>$ *hvar-*) would not suit the meanings.

² *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*, 1920 (Abhand. für d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, xv. 2), pp. 151 ff. (quoted as N).

³ *ar-* O.Iran. *arš-* 'to envy'; *arena* (instr. sing.) renders Skt. *īṣṛyā*.

⁴ In the Khotanese this phrase 'to all beings' comes in the next line in the form *sarvasatvānu vātā*.

⁵ *Taishō Issaikyō*, no. 1012, p. 682, l. 12; nos. 1009, 1011, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1017 have variant phrases with a similar meaning. No. 1018, p. 705, col. 2, l. 8 has 不樂愛欲 'he dislikes passionate desires'.

to *nāhvarrde*, is 'to love exceedingly'. The same meaning is required in the passage of the *Lehrgedicht* (E 13. 92-3):

ka bodhisattvā āstanna brīye kāḍe When of a Bodhisattva the five bad
paṃṣa nṛhīyāndā nīvaraṇa oṣa hindrances, passion and the rest,
aysmū u hā nāhvarrde āragāḍā have subdued the mind, and he
hāmāte kāḍe desires greatly, he is seriously
 at fault.

The corresponding Sanskrit text has:¹

bodhisattva utpannam kāma-cchan- A bodhisattva tolerates the hin-
da-nīvaraṇam adhivāsayaṭi na dering passionate desire which
virodhayaṭi sāpattiko bhavati has arisen and does not resist it.
 He is guilty.

Here the negative *na virodhayati* 'he does not oppose' is represented by the positive *nāhvarrde* 'he desires strongly' in the Khotanese text. To this must be added an unpublished Khotanese verse contained in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fonds Pelliot 3510, fol. 10 a 5):

dharmadāttā prrarā hīṇa aysmya In his own mind he experienced
bīde akāṣṭye anihvarrdye bāvani the nature of the dharmadhātu,
gīhna² by the help of bhāvanā incon-
 ceivable and inapprehensible.

For *anivharrdye* either 'inapprehensible' or 'unattainable' would suit. As applied to the mind *hvar-* recalls the intellectual contexts of *hvarnah*. In Sanskrit contexts *acintya-* 'inconceivable' is frequently associated with *aprameya-* 'immeasurable'. We find also P 2026. 20 *brīye jsa nihvarda*, P 4099. 170 *nūhvarāma*, 147 *nūhvarāre*, 317 *anūhvarra*, Kha. 0013 c 4, b 4 *anāhvarremāte*.

For the form *-hvarra-* with *rr* before *-da* reference can be made to *purra-* 'overcome', *baṣṭarra-* 'spread' (see Sten Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 33) where *-rn-* in contact with *-t-* results in *-rrd-*. The *-n-* is retained from the present stem.

The second word *buhurs-* has so far been found only in one text, that published by E. Leumann, N 127. It is unfortunately frag-

¹ *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, ed. Wogihara, i. 172. Sten Konow in referring to this text in *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, xi. 57 understood the *nāhvarrde* to represent *adhivāsayaṭi* 'he endures'. It is clear a more active idea was intended.

² *asjdām hayunām gīhna* corresponds to the Sanskrit *Suvarṇabhāsa* 3. 58 *pāpa-mitrāgama-*, where the Tibetan version has the equivalent of *sangama-*.

mentary but the passage of interest here recurs several times so that it can be surely known:

Line 3 . . . *biysistā vara buhurstā vara hī* . . .
 15 *maitti vara parrušte vara baitti vara nihvarrde vara bā(ys)ī* . . .
 21 *va(rā bai)tti vara (n)ihvarrde vara biysistā vara* . . .

We have therefore a series of words expressing 'desire': *biysis-*,¹ *-s-* (inchoative) form to *biysamj-* 'to grasp', *mad-* 'to be intoxicated', *parrus-* 'to desire passionately', *bad-* 'bind' (or the source of *baṣṭā* 'sin?'), *nihvarr-* 'desire'. It is therefore safe to understand *buhurs-* as 'desire' or the like. In form it is the *-s-* derivative of an O.Iran. **(a)bi-hvar-*.

The third word *hvarandai* adj. 'right hand', Sogdian *γw'r'nt* **xwarant*, Ormuṛi *xwarinc*^a 'right' in contrast to 'left' may be understood by a comparison with the development of meaning in Skt. *dakṣiṇa-* 'skilful, right', Av. *dašina-*, Latin *dexter* and the connected words, ultimately traceable to an IE. **dek-*.² In New Persian the corresponding word is *x^varand* 'suitable, worthy', and there is a different form *x^varā* (*-ā* is the Middle Persian suffix *-āk*) with the same meaning. A verbal base 'to attain, get' would explain the words and this seems to occur in N.Pers. *dar-x^vardan* 'to suit' and *bar-x^vardan* 'to meet'.

For New Persian many phrases with *x^vardan* are quoted in the dictionaries with the meaning of *giriftan* 'to take', as in *jāhān x^vardan* 'to grasp the world' and *māl x^vardan* 'to take wealth'.

When too the Zoroastrian commentator explained Av. *a^xarəta-*, as noted above, p. 26, by *agrift*, Skt. *agrīta-*, 'ungrasped', he was recognizing the same meaning of *x^var-*.³

But usually in Iranian the base *hvar-* has the secondary meaning of 'take food'. So in Av. *x^var-* 'to eat, to drink', Khotanese *hvar-*, with long vowel *hwārāme*, N.Pers. *x^var-*, and many New Iranian dialects. The semantic development is that to be noticed in English *consume*, *partake*, Skt. *āhāra-* 'food' (*āharati* 'takes'), Latin *consūmo* (*frūmenta consūmere* 'to eat wheat'), or Greek *φαγεῖν* 'to eat', if to be connected with Skt. *bhājati* 'shares', *bhakta-* 'food'.

¹ The form *biysis-* occurs in *Jātaka-stava* 17^v 2 *biysisamḍai sāmndāna* 'grasping by the trunk', and P 3538 A 56 *biysisimye*; more common is *biysamj-* with pass. ptc. *biysīya-*, *biysī*.

² Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, i. 782.

³ It would be satisfactory to recognize *hvar-* 'to receive' in Christian Sogdian *pṭr'q'n xw'r* **pitarakān-xwār* 'heir'.

But $\chi^v\text{ärtakih}$ DkM 438. 3; 469. 8 'prosperity' or the like is rather from $\chi^v\text{ärtan}$ 'to take'; DkM 242. 21 *druvist*- $\chi^v\text{ärtār}$. See further below, p. 99.

A connexion with IE. $*swel$ 'to swallow' would not thereby be excluded, but the connexions proposed in Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleich. Wb.* ii. 530 with English 'swill' and 'swallow' are too uncertain to use.¹

It is obvious that an O.Iran. $*hvarnah$ - can represent IE. $*swer$ - or $*swer-a$ -. If it is assumed that $hvarnah$ represents IE. $*sweranes$ -, it is necessary at least to refer to the Skt. *sūrta*- and *asūrta*-. Both the base and the meaning are unfortunately uncertain. The *sūr*- could represent in Indo-European various bases in the reduced grade $*swla$ -, $*swra$ -, $*slā$ -, $*srā$ -, $*swal$ -, $*sawr$ -, $*swāl$ -, $*swār$ -. The meaning is clearly necessary to decide. Although the well-known and oft-discussed passages of the R̥gveda x. 82. 4 and Atharvaveda x. 3. 9 have not been solved and the proper name *Asūrtarajasa*-² is not of a kind to help, the R̥gvedic passage may be repeated here:

<i>tā dyajanta dr̥vīṇaṃ sām asmā</i>	Those ṛṣis have by worship won
<i>ṣṣayaḥ pūrve jaritdro nā bhūnd</i>	for him riches, the ancient ones
<i>asūrte sūrte rājasi niṣattē</i>	like celebrators, with abundance
<i>yē bhūdnī samākṛṇvann imāni</i>	. . . , they who created these
	beings.

In Atharvaveda x. 3. 9 c we find:

<i>asūrtam rajo dpy aguh</i>	They have gone to . . . space.
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Variant readings of the R̥gveda passage in the later quotations can be seen in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*: *asūrtā*; *niṣattā*, *na sattā*; *asūrtā sūrtā rājaso vimāne*. As an epithet of the *rājas*-, whether one understands an oxymoron or more simply reference to two different states of the *rājas*, the word has been thought to contain *svār*: *sūr*- 'sun, sky' with a possessive suffix³ or to be a participle of an undetermined verb. It is too uncertain to be of

¹ But Manichean Mid.Pers. *nyxw'r*- 'drive on' Henning, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, ix. 192, and Pāzand (Škand-gumānik Vičār 7. 16; 10. 8; 11. 372) *naḫvār* = Skt. *virodhīya*-, *kṣipati*, 'incite', belongs, according to

Henning, BSOS x. 105, note 3, to *θvar*-, with which Pahlavi *𐭮𐭲𐭭 nswb'l*- $*niθvār$ - also is connected.

² Rāmāyana i. 34. 3 with variant reading *Amūrtarajasa*- and commentary *na vidyate sūrtam prasūtam rajo yasya tam*.

³ R̥gveda v. 32. 6 b *asūryē tāmasi vāvṛdhānām* is then comparable.

use here. The contexts too, in one case an epithet of *rājas*-, in the other an Avestan epithet of *hvarnah* 'fortune', seem to have nothing in common.

For Iranian the base *hvar*- 'to take, get' seems well attested. It would provide an excellent source for the word *hvarnah*- 'the thing gotten', or perhaps rather 'the thing desired',¹ from which the other meanings 'riches, good fortune, fortune', whence also with *duš*- 'bad fortune', are easily derived. Like O.Iran. $*r̥ti$ -, Av. *aši*-, Mid.Pers. *art*, *hvarnah* became a *yazata*, hence a force of the invisible world. In one, secondary, aspect as the 'fortune' of kings, it is fused with the *bām ī ḫ^vatāyih* 'brilliance of kingship', when foreign ideas are imposed upon it from outside and it passes then to the colourless 'glory' whence the essential and central idea of 'prosperity, good things' has almost disappeared. This 'glory' is then described in terms more proper to royal splendour, as by the Arabic *ʿaḡamat* 'greatness' and *nūr* 'light', and the N.Pers. *zibāi* 'beauty, honour'.

The evidence which has been considered here may be summarized as follows:

1. Contextual in Avestan and later Zoroastrian texts.
2. Commentarial and translational in Zoroastrian commentaries, in Armenian, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, Turkish, and inversely Chinese.
3. Cognate words in New Iranian dialects.
4. Loan-words in Agnean and Kuchean.
5. Linguistic association with other words.

On this evidence the interpretation of *hvarnah* by 'good things, prosperity' seems unmistakable.

The word *hvarnah* is so common in the Iranian tradition that all who have interested themselves in Iranian studies have perforce found themselves translating it. The following selected list—completeness would have no value—will show how they have attempted to solve the problem.

Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, iii. 204 (1771), 'la gloire et l'éclat' renders *raya ḫ^varənahāča*.

F. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, ii. 42 (1871 ff.), 'Qarenô, die Majestät; als die geistigste Form des Feuers können wir

¹ If the use of *hvarnah* in intellectual contexts is old, it may represent 'apprehension' direct from the base *hvar*- 'to take'.

- den Glanz betrachten, welchen die Erânier qarenô nennen'. Ibid. ii. 44, note 1, 'aqareta "nicht leuchtende" (Majestät)'.
 M. Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, 2nd ed. 216 (1878), 'glory'.
 F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 92 (1895), 'x^varənah: das Wort bedeutet Licht, Glück, und in politisch-religiösem Sinne die (königliche) Majestät'.
 E. W. West, *Sacred Books of the East*, 47. 59 (1897), *pat x^varraḥ x^varraḥōmandtom* DkM 633. 12 is translated 'most glorious in glory'.
 J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 615 (1892 ff.), 'Le Hvarenô, que nous convenons de traduire *gloire*, en prenant le mot dans son sens matériel et mystique, comme l'aurole de lumière et d'inspiration divine qui descend sur les saints, est le principe céleste qui donne à celui qui en est investi la puissance, la vertu, le génie, le bonheur: c'est la fortune divine'. P. 628 'ahvaretē "insaisissable"'.
 F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés*, 284 (1899), 'Les Iraniens se représentaient cette grâce comme une sorte de feu surnaturel, d'aurole brillante qui appartenait avant tous aux divinités, mais qui éclairait aussi les princes et consacrait leur puissance'.
 A. V. Williams Jackson, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* 56 (1939), 205, note 21, 'x^varəno ax^varətam "the glory inaccessible" (lit. "untasteable")'.
 E. Wilhelm, *Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume*, 163 (1914), hvarenô "splendour" from svar- "to shine"; 'ahvaretē hvarenô is something much more general than kingly majesty: we may say it is the happiness or welfare of man in general, the fortune that resides among them, but which the single individual cannot attain by his own force, in spite of all endeavour'.
 Louis H. Gray, 'Foundations of Iranian Religions', *Journ. Cama Or. Inst.* no. 15 (1929), "glory"; cognate with Av. hvar, Skt. svār.
 I. Scheftelowitz, *Scripta Univ. atque Bibl. Hierosolymitanarum*, 8 (1923), 'Bagafarnā, die Glorie der zarathustrischen Götter besitzend'.
 C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1870 (1904), 'x^varənah — Ruhm, Ruhmesglanz, Glanz, Herrlichkeit, Hoheit, Majestät'; col. 299 'ax^varətam unfassbar, unnahbar'.

- K. Geldner, *Die zoroastrische Religion* (1926), 'Glorie (Glanz)'.
 H. Reichelt, *Avesta Reader*, 299 (1911), 'x^varənah: "the Kingly Glory" a divine light or halo supposed to be possessed by the kings of the Iranian dynasties'.
 H. Lommel, *Zeits. f. Indol. u. Iranistik*, 2. 225 (1923), 'ax^varətam x^varəno den starken lichtlosen Glücksglanz; x^varəno göttliche glückverbürgende Lichtmacht'.
 J. Hertel, *Die awestischen Herrschafts- und Siegesfeuer*, Abhand. Sächs. Akad. Wissens. xli, nr. vi, passim (1931), 'Siegesfeuer'.
 H. S. Nyberg, *Irans Forntida Religioner*, 79 (1937), 'Maktglans; ordet x^varənah är ett synonym till xšaθra'.
 E. Benveniste, *Vytra et Vyθragna*, 7-8 (1934), 'x^varənah, signe lumineux de la faveur céleste et du pouvoir délégué par les dieux, symbolise la prospérité rayonnante; mais c'est aussi un agent interne de vitalité, la force qui rattache l'être à l'existence'.
 E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, ix. 149 (1938), 'gēhān farraḥ kunēt "mundum felicem faustumque fecit"'; 145 'x^varraḥ "maiestas"'; 157 خرو "gloria"; 105 'x^varnah-, die "verzehrende" flamme, die auch der nimbus ausdrückt'; 80 ax^varətam x^varəno is explained as referring to naphtha; 86 'das x^varnah ist als mythischer begriff das blitzfeuer'.

III MARTŌM

WE turn in this third lecture to a less contentious subject and shall be concerned with the views to which the Zoroastrians had come, in the ninth-century books, in regard to the problem of man himself, his constitution, and the destiny of his constituent parts. On such a subject it will of course be recognized that much has already appeared in the various studies of Zoroastrian thought.¹ But not all the evidence has been used and a comprehensive work offering a comparative study of the whole system has yet to be attempted. Here, however, I have only two things in view: first to illustrate the development of Zoroastrian scholastic work, itself a most interesting subject, and secondly to indicate the complex character ascribed to man physically and psychically and in his relations with the invisible world as seen in the analyses of Zoroastrian books.

These books are still little explored and many interesting developments of thought await the investigator. We are indeed met on the threshold by a difficulty in the lack of critical studies of each of these texts; indices are rare and commentaries belong to the future. Of so important a text as the *Dāstān ī dēnīk* of Manuščihr, *Pārs ut Karmān asrōnān pēšak framātār*, the chief of the priestly class of Pārs and Karmān, we have now indeed a facsimile of one manuscript,² a translation in the Sacred Books of the East (vol. xviii, 1882) by E. W. West, which, however, no longer corresponds to the present standard of knowledge, and an excellent but incomplete edition, of the first forty chapters, by Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria. A comparative study of it

¹ We may refer to Casartelli, *La Philosophie religieuse du mazdéisme*, 1884; A. V. Williams Jackson in the *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii. 673 ff.; articles by various writers in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*; H. 'S. Nyberg, *Journal Asiatique*, 1929 ff., 'Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes'; J. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 1929; J. Tavadia, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 8 (1931), 119 ff.; 10 (1935), 192 ff.; *Festschrift für M. Winternitz*, 1933, 258 ff.

² *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis*, iii, 1934.

to satisfy our critical needs is still awaited. The other books, such as the *Dēnkart*, are in like case. Each student must, therefore, delve in them for himself.

A few words must first be said on the problem of foreign influence upon the books with which we are dealing. As we saw in the introduction, such books as the *Bundahišn*, the *Dēnkart*, and the writings of Manuščihr and Zātspram are of the ninth century A.D., whether containing the facts of earlier teachings or the new thoughts of original writers of that century. The date itself, therefore, warns us that they were being written at a time when Islām¹ had already established itself in the lands of the Sasanian Empire. Another earlier source of foreign ideas, on which these writers have left us their own testimony, was the intercourse with Indian, Greek, and Syrian thinkers and their books. Once incorporated these ideas persisted.

The tenacity of the Zoroastrian tradition is known. It may be illustrated by one evident case. The archaic orthography of the Zoroastrian books with its *Uzvārišn* system of recording the language had survived from probably the Achaemenid period. Religious conservatism counts for something in that. The Manichean missionaries did not use this archaic orthography nor the *Uzvārišn* system in composing books for their friends who spoke Pārsīy or Pahlavānīy or Sogdian, but in the Syrian script wrote down the languages as they were spoken, and used also the long-established Sogdian alphabet for the Sogdians and for the Turks, occasionally also for pieces of Middle Persian. The Zoroastrian writers in Persia, and also the mint and the engravers of inscriptions and seals, continued to use the traditional system. The Sasanian kings are represented to us in the main, in Zoroastrian as in Christian books, as ardent Mazdayasnians—the title *māzdēsna bay* is used on their inscriptions—although the Manicheans could also at times claim some royal favour.² The Šāhānšāhs supported the privileges of the *MōbaZān* and *HērbaZān* who in turn were busy adapting their religious practices to the life of the cities of their time, with books on ritual and law, on ethics and theology

¹ An echo of this period may be seen in the traditions of Varhrān ī varčāvand; see the text in Appendix I.

² Innaios, the third ἀρχηγός of the Manicheans, healed the Persian king Varhrān II (273–6) of a severe illness and the community enjoyed a time of peace (H. J. Polotsky, *Manichäische Homilien*, 1934, 83 ff.).

mixed with philosophy. It was a period of scholastic activity which the fall of the Sasanian Empire did not interrupt.

It is, of course, evident that Persia had been exposed to Western influence from the first interference in Mesopotamian affairs in the time of the Medes, and such influence continued through the centuries.¹ Hellenism came later in the Arsacid period. In the Sasanian period first Christianity and then Manicheism spread in open opposition to Zoroastrian teachings. In the East, as in Bactria, Buddhism was widely followed. Religious teachers arose within the Zoroastrian community of whom Mazdak ī Bāmdātān, an *ahramōy* 'heretic' in the view of the commentator on the Vidēvdāt (Vid. 4. 49) and of the writer of the Bundahišn (GrBd 215. 9), put to death in 528 under Kavāt (488–531), was one of the most notorious.

Here, however, we are concerned with literary contacts. Nallino² was able to show that Greek astrological and agricultural books were known in Persia, preserved in Arabic translations from Middle Persian. Manuščihr in his Epistles (ii. 2. 9, 11) named in an astronomical context the Alexandrian scholar of the second

century A.D. Ptolemaios *𐭯𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥* (**ptalamayus*)—we shall meet him again below—in connexion with the Indian astronomical tables (*zīk ī hindūk* ii. 2. 9) and the *zīk ī šahriyārān*. We have also to remember that there was a flourishing Nestorian Church in Persia with the head, the Katholikos, at Seleucia and a Church, claiming independence of Seleucia, in Persis itself, with many bishoprics, where Syriac translations of Greek writers were appreciated.³ It is stated that Eliša' bar Qūzbāyē⁴ translated into Persian a book on the Christian faith for Kavāt (488–531); and that Paul the Persian⁵ is considered to have dedicated a book on Aristotelian logic to Husrau I (531–78). Two Christian law-books written in

¹ For the Jewish connexions, see J. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum*, 1920.

² In the *Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* (1922), 345 ff., 'Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi per trafilā pehlevica'; and ERE, 'Sun moon and stars (Muhammedan)', xii. 88 ff. See also Taqizadeh, BSOS ix. 136 f.

³ Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 1922, *passim*.

⁴ Op. cit. 114.

⁵ Op. cit. 120 f.; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse*, 166.

Persis by Iesubokht (*yšw'bwkt*), the metropolitan of Persis who resided in Rēw-ardašīr (about 775–9), and by Simeon (*šm'wn*) of uncertain date have survived in a Syriac translation from Persian and have been edited by Sachau.¹

With these facts in mind we can appreciate the well-known passage of the Dēnkart (DkM 412. 17–21), discounting the ultra-patriotic point of view of the Zoroastrian writer and perhaps not giving too much credence to the date:

*šāhpuhr ī šāhānšāh ī artaxšahrān
nīpēkāhā-īč ī hač dēn bē apar
bišīškīh ut star-gōβišnīh vičandišn
ut zamān giyāk ut gōhr dahišn
bavišn vināsišn yatak-vihīrīh ut
gavākīh ut apārik kērōkīh ut
apzār andar hindūkān ut hrōm²
apārik-īč zamikīhā pargandak būt
apāč ō ham āfurt ut apāk apastāk
apāč handāxt*

Šāhpuhr, king of kings, son of Artaxšahr (241–72) assembled and united with the Avesta books of the Dēn on medicine, astronomy, motion, time, space, substance, creation, genesis, passing away, change and growth, and other arts and crafts, which had been scattered in India, Rome (= Byzantine Empire), and other countries.

A few words of comment upon this statement will be useful. In medicine³ it is known that both Greek and Indian scholars contributed. Laufer⁴ has pointed out contributions to Persian pharmacology from Indian sources. We may add that Indian plant names such as *balātur* and *bēš* occur not only in the Bundahišn (GrBd 115. 7) but in the commentary on Yasna 10. 12:⁵

*čēgōn bēš balātur čē ān bavēt ī kad
viš bēšāzišnīh rād martōm bē
ōzanēt*

Like *bēš* (aconitum, Skt. *viṣā*) and *balātur* (semecarpus anacardium, Skt. *bhallātaka*), since sometimes in curing by poison they kill the man.

¹ Ed. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, iii (1914).

² On *hrōm* and *frōm* 'Rome', see Schaefer, *Iranica* (1934), Fu-lin.

³ E. G. Browne, *Arabian Medicine*, 1921; Casartelli, *Le Muséon*, v (1886), 296 ff.; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (1936), 413 ff. An account of the Medical School of Gundēšāpūr (= Naqš-e Rostam inscription of Šāhpuhr I, why 'ndywk šhpwhry, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, ed. Minorsky, 381 *wndw š'wr*) is given by Eberman, 'Medicinskaja škola v Džundišapure', in the *Zapiski kolleġii vostokovedov*, i (1925), 47 ff. Here Greek and Indian medicine met. Sargis of Riš-ainā (ob. 536) translated Greek philosophical and medical books into Syriac.

⁴ B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (1919), 580 ff.

⁵ Here *balātur* had escaped the notice of Unvala, *Neriosengh's Sanskrit version of the Hōm Yašt* (Yasna ix–xi), 1924, 65 (the Sanskrit omits the passage), although *bēš* was identified. The transcription *bēš* with *ē* rather than *i* is based

Similarly in the medical treatise¹ DkM 166. 18 we find *bēš ut* **balatur*, and in DkM 166. 15 as a medicament *halilak* from the Skt. *haritaki* corresponding to Khotanese *halirai* (BSOS viii. 124) and N.Pers. *halila*, *ihlilaḡ* 'myrobalan'.²

Astronomy and astrology were noted above. In DkM 420. 11 they are mentioned as the *handāk ī star-ōšmārān* 'calculations of the star-observers'.

The topics of motion, time, space,³ nature, becoming, destruction, change, and growth refer directly to Aristotelian teachings in the books on Physics and associated themes. The two topics of *bavišn* 'becoming' and *vināsišn* 'destruction', here and similarly in DkM 420. 13–14, refer immediately to the treatise *περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς* 'on coming to be and passing away', which was rendered into Syriac by Hunain (809–76).⁴

Change, *yatak-vihirih*,⁵ is the Greek *μετασχημάτις* 'change of

on Armenian *bēšk* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 196); a similar difference appears in Armenian *čenastan* 'China' (Sebeōs, ed. Constantinople (1851), p. 29 and Movsēs Xorenaci in Hübschmann, op. cit. 49), compared with Sanskrit *cina*.

¹ A transcription is given in Appendix II.

² The plant is named also in Husrau ut Rētak 45, 66 *halilak*.

³ So in DkM 420. 14 *vičandišn ut yumbišn ī čišān ut zamān ut giyāk šnāxtan*.

⁴ Baumstark, op. cit. 228 f.

⁵ It will be necessary to justify the reading of the two components of this word. In 149 *yatak* I see a derivative of *yam*- ptc. *yata*- 'to hold, sustain, control'. Hence we find Mid.Parth. *ymg* **yamay* 'leader' corresponding to Greek *ἀρχηγός* in Manichean texts, Mid.Pers. *šmyg* **šamāy* (š- < O.Iran. y-). 149 *yatak* 'form' corresponds to Greek *σχῆμα* 'habitus, form' (*yam*- = Greek *ἐχῶ*). In DkM 420. 17 *ut pat nāmčīštīk šnāsakīh dāst ēstēt yatak-vihirih kērōkīh*, this 'change' is an art. Cf. also Dd 36. 106 *ān zōr ī yatak-vihirih*. The two terms are reversed in DkM 161. 10 *vihiřišn ī yatakān*. Greek *σχῆμα* acquired also the meaning of 'position, dignity' and this may indicate how 149 also could get the meaning of 'good holding, good position, fortune' as in the phrase *yatak ī nēvak* 'good fortune' (see Tavadiā, *Šāyast nē šāyast*, p. 27; ZDMG 92. 656) which corresponds to Mid.Pers. *šdg* **šadāy* (š- < O.Iran. y-) 'fortune' *hwšdg* 'fortunate' (Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Manichaica*, ii. 38, 55). We find also 149 *yatārih* 'maintenance' DkM 168. 6 (formed like *zatārih*, *matārih*) in the phrase *yatārih ut vinārtārih* corresponding in lines 12–13 to *ēstišn ut vinārišn*.

The second component 149 *vihiř* 'change' may be understood as **vi-kar*- with pres. **vikār*- beside the causative **vi-kār*-, as we find *nīkīr*- 'observe' beside *mīkār*- 'design, compose' (Zātspram 30. 23 *nīkārīhēt*; DkM 170. 2 *nīkārīšn*), *uskār*- 'think', and *vitīr*- 'cross' beside *vitār*- 'transport', and the presents in -īr in Manichean Mid.Pers. *przȳr*-, *vdyr*-, *vyȳr*-, *vyštȳr*-, *šmyr*- (Henning, *Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente*, p. 206.) We

σχῆμα (form)'. This is particularly clear in DkM 352 f., where it is illustrated by the change *ayōkšust hač xāk* 'metal from ore', sugar-cane from the earth (*hač zamīk naδ-šakar*) with the artificial change due to man of making an ear-ring and finger-ring out of gold (*gōšvār ut angustarik hač zarr*) and sugar from sugar-cane.¹

The word 149 *gavākih* 'growth' in this context represents the Greek *αὔξησις* 'increase, growth'. The meaning is attested also by the hitherto unexplained² Pahlavi translation of the Avestan proper name *arədat̰.fədrī*- occurring in DkM 674. 16 149 *gavāk pit* where 149 renders *arədat̰* 'increasing'. The reading *gav*- is based upon two considerations. The base *gav*- exists in Av. *gūnaoti*, -*gūt* (*χράτου.gūtō*) and with preverbs in Mid.Parth. 'bg'w- ptc. 'bgwd 'increase', 'ng'w- ptc. 'ngwd 'terminate', 'wyg'w- 'diminish' (Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, 76), O.Pers. *abiy-ajāvayam* 'I added, increased' Xerxes inscription (Kent, *Language*, ix. 1933; Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, 38 ff.) line 9, and *abi-ajāvayam* (Kent, *Language*, ix (1933), 35 ff., Herzfeld, *Altp. Insch.* 35 ff.) line 40. (In BSOS vii. 292 this was wrongly associated with *qβzōn*.) In Armenian we have the loan-word *augout* 'utilitas, lucrum'. Cognate words are given in Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, i. 637 such as Lith. *gáunu* 'obtain'. I would recognize this word also in Pahl. *gōhr* 'substance' < **gavaθra*- and perhaps in 149 **fragūtak*.³ The second consideration is less weighty but worth noticing. In DkM 230. 8–9 *gayōkmart* is

must also admit the further change of intervocalic -k- > -y- > -h- such as we find in Pāzand *guhār*- (Dātastān ī mēnōk ī xrat 15. 38 *guhārēt* 'digest' = Pahl. 149 *gukārēt*, SGV 8. 61 *guhārā* 'digestive', N.Pers. *guvār*- from **vi-kār*-) and like -y- > -h- in Pahl. *āhuftan* 'reveal', *nihuftan* 'conceal' from the base *gaup*:- *guṣ*- 'hide'. Hence *vihiř*- < **viyīr*- < **vikīr*-. [The alternative would be to read **viyīr*- for 149, but the use of 149 would not be the usual spelling for -īyī-.]

¹ The text is transcribed in Appendix III.

² See West's readings SBE 47. 115; and *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* ii. 97; Bartholomae AIW, s.v. *arədat̰.fədrī*.

³ DkM 646. 4 *darmān ī vīmārīh ī hač bižiškān uskār fragūtak* 'medicaments for diseases which are obtained from the researches of physicians'. GrBd 44. 7 *sōčān tēy hač dvārīšn <ī> xrafstrān nē fragūt*. DkM 410.12 *afragūt*, see also DkM 434. 11; 405. 14.

explained by *zindakāh gavākāh i mūrāk* 'mortal life and growth' (Dd pursišn 63 = K 35, 177 v 10 *zīvandak i mūr(ā)k*). If the meaning 'growth' is here right, it implies that the writer identified the initial *g-* of *gayōkmart* with the initial of *گرو*.¹

In this context also *dahišn* 'creation' seems to have a theological colouring and will refer to the *garm x^oēt bun gētik dahišnān* 'hot and moist basic creations of the visible world' of DkM 121. 2.

For the use of *kērōkīh*² 'arts', cf. also DkM 645. 14 (describing the knowledge ascribed to Zoroaster) *bižīškīh ut čīhr-šnāsīh ut apārīk pēšak kērōkīh* 'medicine and physics and the arts of the other classes'.

In ascribing these books to the Avesta the Dēnkart is consistent with its statement of the all-embracing character of it, as in DkM 646. 6 f.:

ēvak aβdīh i x^oat apastāk i pat hamāk pahlom-ēvāčīh (i) gēhān-hangartūkīh i visp-dānākīh gō-βišnān apartom One wonder is the Avesta itself whose statements in all highest speech comprising the whole world and in all wisdom are supreme.

¹ A different word is *𐭪𐭫𐭮* in Manuščīhr Epistle i. 2. 12 *gōβāk-uzvān* 'eloquent-tongued' and in DkM 491. 14 ff. in a list of five good things:

5 ēn čīš i apēr ut nēvak ēn-ič ētōn rātīh rāstīh ut marčāpukīh ut gōβākīh frazānākīh* These five things are excellent and good. These are generosity, truth, valour, eloquence, and wisdom.

² Pāzand has *kārōi* SGV 16. 31. See JRAS 1934, 512 ff., BSOS ix. 231, and add Zātspram 29. 2 *rāz i kērōk 𐭪𐭫𐭮* 'skilled architect', Manich. Mid.Pers. r'z *qrwg* BSOS ix. 87; DkM 353. 1, 2 *𐭪𐭫𐭮 kērōkīh*, DkM 553. 10 *dast-kērōkīh*; DkM 491. 4 *kērōkīha*; Zātspram 30. 12 *pas ēn 12 mēnōkān ham-karrōkīhā ō ham passāčīhēnd*.

* I understand as *mart-čāpuk*, cf. in a list of the requisites of a good physician *ān i nēvak x^oarišn ut ān-ič i čāpuk brahmak* 'good food and excellent raiment' DkM 163. 20 f., *tan-bahr ut čāpukīh* Kārnamak (Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch*, p. 4, § 21), *čāpukīh* DkM 337. 4; 161. 1 f. R. C. Zaehner has a different reading BSOS ix. 314. Cf. Armen. *čabouk*, Georgian *č'abuk-i* (Deeters, *Caucasica* 3. 73).

In the following lines 22 ff. *gōβākīh* is defined:

ut gōβākīh ēt bavēt kē avē kas rād yāt-gōβīh kunēt i kaš-aš ān nē yātak-gōβ kas-ič yāt-gōβīh nēst ut ān kas ruvān i x^oēš rād yātak-gōβīh kart Eloquence is this that one pleads for a person when he is not a pleader and no one is his pleader and that person has pleaded for his own soul.

Similarly *čim-gōβākīh* is 'logic' in DkM 417. 14 *ān i vizāyīšnīk ō anāšnākīh i čīšān pat nām i hast nāmčīstīktom čim-gōβākīh*. See also DkM 128. 3, 4.

Manuščīhr¹ has occasion incidentally to mention physicists (*φυσικοί*) in his discussion of motion (*yumbīšn*):

*ān gētik asmān tāk *kaš ān druž i vičandēnāk ētōn mat apē-niyāz būt hač guft (i) gōhrak-dānākān čēgōn-šān guft ku xrat apar gukās² ku kē tan x^oat nē-č giyāk ut-aš nē hast-ič giyāk a-niyāz hač vīnārāk* That visible sky till the druž who caused the motion so came was without need (= independent) according to the teaching of physicists. They have said that reason is witness that that whose body itself has no place and itself has no place, has no need of an establisher.

The collocation *bižīškīh ut čīhr-šnāsīh* 'medicine and physics' DkM 645. 14 recognizes the same sciences.

Recall too the reference to the sophist in DkM 250. 2-4:

ut-aš andar dēn nām pat dēvayasn ahrāmōy an-ēr burt ēn i pat ēvāč i 𐭪𐭫𐭮 sōkfistāk³ (i) dahrik-ič x^oānend⁴ In the Dēn he bore the name of worshipper of demons, heretic, and foreigner. This man in the language of . . . they call sophist and also dahri.

¹ Dd. pursišn 90. 3 = K 35, 197 v 5 ff.

² Interesting to note here the appeal to reason, such as we find it also in the Škand-gumānik Vičār, as in 10. 46 *pa xard u guβāi ōstyqatar u padirašnitar* 'by reason and evidence more sure and acceptable'. Note also Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd p. 159, l. 2 *pat xrat i gētik ayāstan ut dānastan nē šāyēt* 'by reason of this world it is not possible to attain to it and know it' in describing the joys of Vahišt. The *čim-x^oāstārān* are mentioned in Zātspram 29. 9.

³ The form (also DkM 152. 4, 15) represents the Syriac *swpysē* **sōfistā* (its probable source). Pāzand SGV 6. 35, 45 *supastūi* is applied to thinkers who deny that the senses are trustworthy. It is the Greek *σοφιστής*. A confused trace of this same word is preserved in Al-Qiftī (A.D. 1172-1248) in his *Ta'rikh al-Ḥukamā* (ed. Lippert, 1903, 133. 20 f.) who refers to the physicians Jabrā'il **durustabaḍ* درستاباذ (= Pahl. *druvistpat*, DkM 159. 19) and *السوفسطائي* *al-sūfistā'i* and his colleagues (اصحابه).

⁴ On this see now R. C. Zaehner, BSOS ix. 900. In connexion with *σοφιστής* either *hrōmāyik* 'Byzantine' or *yōnāyik* 'Greek' might be expected (in Manich. Mid.Parth., Henning, BSOS ix. 90, *ywnyg* **yōnīy* 'Greek' is found). In DkM 406. 2 *𐭪𐭫𐭮* is simpler to emend to **𐭪𐭫𐭮* since *𐭪* and *𐭫* are at times confused and it may be dittography. Possibly *𐭪𐭫* *bē* has been lost here, then *bē-šahr* 'foreign empire' (like *bē-kišvar* DkM 428. 20). For *dahrik* from the Arabic *dahri* there need be no difficulty. Other Arabic technical terms occur. We have in the *Šahrīhā i Erān*, ed. Markwart-Messina (1931), 61 *𐭪𐭫𐭮* *Abū Ja'far* and *𐭪𐭫𐭮* *Abū 'd-dawāniq*, and in the *Gūstak Abāly* (reading still uncertain, *𐭪𐭫𐭮* and *𐭪𐭫𐭮*) K 20, 148 v 13 *𐭪𐭫𐭮* *Ma'mūn amīr*

The opinion expressed in DkM 429. 13 on the merits of Greek and Indian books is also of interest here:

pat hrōm filiōkfāy' ut pat hindūkān
dānāk ut pat apārik dānāk śnāsak²
ān apērtar stāyūt kē gōḥiśn ut
wyčwmānīh³ hač-šan pāidākīhast
ut frazānakān ī ērān-šahr passan-
dāt ēstāt .

Of the philosophers of Rome (= Byzantine Empire) and the learned of India and other learned scholars, those who showed skill in dialectics and analysis he chiefly praised, and the wise men of Persia approved him.

In DkM 420. 10 books on geometry (*nipēk ī zamīk-patmānīh* rendering literally the Greek γεωμετρία 'measurement of the earth') occur with books of astronomy. Indian books are named also in

DkM 428, where, l. 10, we find the *nipēk* 'book' called 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 probably Skt. *tarka* 'logic'. The μαθηματικὴ σύνταξις of Ptolemaios is intended in DkM 428. 16 by the *mgstyk* 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 ī *hrōmāy* 'the Roman *μεγίστη*', since his work was called the *μεγάλη σύνταξις* and by the Syrians *mygysty*, *mgysty*, that is, *μεγίστη* whence the Arabs received their *al-majisti* المجسطي. Such books were

ī mu'minīn (Pāzand *māmūn amār mūmanīn*); 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 k'dyk, Arabic *qādi* K 20, 149 v 17; Pāzand (SGV) *muḏzari*.

¹ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 I read *filiōkfāy* (or -āk), assuming 𐭪 for 𐭫 before s (as for instance in *ristakān* 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 DkM 121. 19 = 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 DkM 121. 10 beside 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 DkM 122. 5; and in DkM 662. 3 *kiliyākīk*). The final 𐭪 is ambiguous, -āy or -āk. Here too the word has reached Persian through Syriac *pylyswp* (beside *pylyswp* and *pylyswp*), whence also the Armenian *p'ilisop'ay*.

² *śnāsak* 'having scientific knowledge': -*śnāsīh* in *ēhr-śnāsīh* DkM 645. 14; the physician in DkM 161. 10 f. is *hangām-śnās* 'knowing the times', *vartišn-śnās* 'knowing the crises', *vīmārih-darmān-śnās* 'knowing the medicaments for diseases'. DkM 420. 14 *zamān ut giyāk śnāxtan* 'to have scientific knowledge of time and space'. It corresponds to the use of -*logos* in Greek.

³ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 and DkM 125. 10 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭭 correspond to Pāzand (SGV 8. 71, 80; 9. 31) *vičūmānahihā* rendered into Sanskrit by *vivekatayā*. The reading and connexions are uncertain. The Pāzand means probably *vi-čūm-* with -*ān* adjectival suffix or participle, as in *handēmān* or *zamān*. In Manichean Mid.Pers. *nyzwm'n* 'skilful' (Henning, *Orient. Lit. Zeitung*, 1934, 755) may correspond, Mid.Pers. *z* is as ambiguous as Pahlavi 𐭪 (= O.Iran. *z* 𐭪). Hence the reading will depend upon the discovery of the word in another Iranian dialect. Messina, *Ayātkār ī Zāmāspik*, 141 (1939) has *nēzūmān* from Pāzand *nē čimān* and *vīja mān*.

brought from abroad (*hač bē-kišvar āḫurt*) and united with the *bun nipēk* 'the original books' in the royal library.¹

We come now, fortified by these facts, to our actual subject, man, who though the sixth in the order of creation of the *gētīk* visible world,² followed only by fire,³ is necessarily the central point in the Zoroastrian religion, as in DkM 124. 14-15 *gētīk dahišnān pahlom martōm* 'chiefest of creations of the world, man'. And man culminates in the *mart ī ahrav*, the *nā ašava* 'the man holding right' of the Avestan texts.⁴ His deliverance (*bōxtakīh*) is always present to the mind of the theological writer.

We come in this context immediately upon the influence of Aristotle's philosophy and shall later, below, p. 105, meet also the teaching of the Hippocratic medical school of the four humours in man's body. Note too the Greek thought behind the use of the Pāzand *gēhā ī guzurg* 'the great world' and the *gēhā ī kōdak* 'the small world' (SGV 16. 24) for the macrocosm and the microcosm, *μικρὸς κόσμος*, of man.

The doctrine of Aristotle's Physics is unmistakable, but is combined naturally with Zoroastrian theological dogma. It will be

¹ This was the *ganj* 'treasury'. It will be remembered how on the death of Severus bar Šakkū his books were similarly taken to the treasury of the prince of Mosul (*Journal Asiatique*, 1896, 1. 286 ff.). West's understanding of this passage is given in *Grund. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 93.

² *gētīk ī pat tanōmandīh vēnišnīk* DkM 120. 15.

³ GrBd 33. 2 ff. *nazdist asmān dītkar āp sītkar zamīk čahārom urvar pañcom gōspand šašom martōm ut haftom ātaxš*. Similarly Zātspram K 35, 235 r 6 ff.

⁴ The possession of *art* (Av. *aša-*, -*arata-*) is the only means of securing an eternity of happiness. One of the merits of *ērān-vēž* was that the inhabitants on dying were accounted to possess *art*, as the Dāstān ī mēnōk ī xrat states (43. 34) *ut kaš mīrēnd ahrav hand* 'and when they die, they are ahrav'. The reverse was true of the inhabitants of Čēnastān 'China' *kīh mīrānd darvand hand* 'and when they die, they are druvand' (BSOS vi. 948). The task of the *ruvān-bižīšk* 'physician of the soul' is to assure the *ahravih ī-šan ruvān* that their soul should be ahrav (DkM 160. 12) and *ruvān hač vinās pātan pat vēh kirpak ahravenītan* (DkM 162. 6) 'to keep the soul from sin and to make it ahrav by good works'.

A similar view has now appeared in the Persepolis inscription of Xerxes (Kent, 'The Daiva-inscription of Xerxes', *Language*, 13 (1937); Herzfeld, *Altperische Inschriften*, 27 ff.), lines 46 ff. So in line 48 *uta mrtā rtāvā ahamiy* 'and on dying may I be rtāvan'. For the phrase in 50 f. and 53 f. *artaca brzmnīy* it would be interesting to read **rtanhācā brazmāniya*, both nom. sing., 'following rta and possessing (associated with) the brazman', assuming that in **rtanhācā* the -*nh-*, like the -*nh-* of **anhati*, O.Pers. *θ a t i y*, could be replaced by *a*, and that the second component is *hācan-* from the base *hak-* 'accompany'.

well to treat of the Greek thought first. A full statement of it is given in DkM 119 ff.¹ The following four statements are on p. 121. 2 ff:

- (1) *garm x^oēt bun gētik dahišnān* (i) *mātak-ič dānihēt ut-aš dēsak i fratom būtak* Hot and moist basic visible creations which is called also the basis, and its form, the first produced.
- (2) *čahār zahakān i hand vāt ātaχš āp gil bun gētiyān čih ut dēsak i ditikar būtak* The four elements air, fire, water, earth, basic visible things, and its form, the second produced.
- (3) *čahār rastakān* (i) *āmēčišn i zīndakān dēsak i sitikar* The four kinds of mixture of living things, the third form.
- (4) *martōmān gōspand ut apārik zīndakān i vēh čegōn dēsakōmand i aβdom baχt ēstēnd ō karpān karpān* Men and cattle and other living things which are good, which as the last formed things were distributed to the various bodies.

Somewhat modified in statement we find DkM 124. 19 ff:

- garm x^oēt gētik dahišnān fratom bun* Hot and moist basic creations, first base.
- hač dahišn* (i) *garm x^oēt bavišn-raβišnūh* (i) *zahakān čahār i hast vāt ātaχš āp gil hač bavišn-raβišnūh bavišn-āstišnūh* (i) *ad-venakān i amēχtak ut hač zahakān advenakān baχtak ō karpān karpān vičūrtak* From the creation of hot and moist is the coming into being of the four elements air, fire, water, earth. From coming into being is the being of the mixed forms and from the elements forms are distributed and placed in the various bodies.

Here then we have the doctrine of the στοιχεῖα hot and moist (and their implied opposites cold and dry, the στέρησις, deprivation, of hot and moist); the εἶδος 'form' expressed by *dēsak*; the μίξις, mixture, of the elements of air, fire, water, earth, forming man, expressed by *āmēčišn*; and the γένεσις, *bavišn-raβišnūh*, becoming, replaced by οὐσία, *bavišn-āstišnūh*, being; and thence to bodies σῶμα ἐμψυχον, the ὁμοιομερῆ, *advenakān i amēχtak*, mixed forms.² In the use of *gētik dahišnān* 'visible creations', we may be tempted to see a loose use of *dahišn* not as creation but as a perceived thing

¹ A transcribed text is given in Appendix IV.

² See, for example, Joachim, *Aristotle on coming-to-be and passing-away* (1922), Introduction, *passim*.

(αἰσθητόν), but we must rather admit that a theological term has been deliberately introduced, as we find in DkM 120. 22 f., *tōhmak i gētik būtak i hač dātār āfurrišn ut dahišn* 'seed of the visible product which results from the creator's creation', where the addition of *āfurrišn* 'creation' assures the same meaning for *dahišn*.

Other references to this doctrine may conveniently be given here. The elements στοιχεῖα¹ are called *zahakān*, a word which is elsewhere used for the embryo of a child or young animal.² So in the GrBd 142. 11 occurs 4 *zahakān hast āp zamik vāt ātaχš* and in Pāzand (SGV 4. 18) *čihār zahagq i tanikardi i hōrmazdi i hast āβ u ātaš u gil u vāt*; (ibid. 5. 47 f.) *zahagq ka azaš pasāχt kard aštand i hast ātaš āβ u vāt zamī*; (ibid. 4. 88) *ō čihār zahagq gumāžihastan*. It will be seen that the order varies and that *gil* and *zamik* are interchangeable.

For the mixture μίξις (rendered in the Syriac by *mzwwg*), wherefore the Arabs used *mizāj*) we have in the Čatrang-nāmak 26:³

- 4 (sc. *muhrak*) *ōgōn humānāk* Four men I make like the four *kunom čegōn 4 amēčišn kē martōm* mixtures whence man is made. *hačiš*

Zātspram 30. 17 has *ēn harv 4 amēčišnān* 'all the four mixtures', and in DkM 399. 17⁴ occurs *ut tan gētik-nirangik amēčišn i tan passāčišn* 'and the mixtures of the body due to *nirang* ("power") in the visible world which is the body's constitution'.

The term *gōhr*⁵ must also be noticed. We must probably recognize both a popular and a technical use. In the semi-Aristotelian passage quoted from the Dēnkart 119 ff., the *gōhr i dāmān* (120. 10) may reasonably be taken in spite of its theological⁶ colouring in

¹ Aristotle used στοιχεῖα of (1) ἀήρ, γῆ, πῦρ, ὕδωρ and of (2) θερμόν, ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, ξηρόν.

² So in DkM 208. 16 *kārtakih i zahak andar burtār urusfar* 'formation of the young in the mother's womb'; DkM 114. 21, 23 *zahakān kōtakih* 'smallness of the foetus'; DkM 370. 1 *pat patvand zahakān*; Zātspram 34. 20 *andar mātakān zahak*. In the Manichean texts (Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Manichaica*, i. 38) Mid.Pers. *zhg* 'Fötus, Kind'; (ibid. iii. 64) Mid.Parth. *zhg* 'Kind'. Western Balōči uses *zahag* 'son' (*Linguistic Survey of India*, x. 380 f.). The Pāzand *zahagq* is rendered in the SGV by Skt. *sambhūti*.

³ Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, p. 118 (cf. Salemann, *Izvestija Akademii Nauk*, 1887; *Vijārishn i Chatrang*, ed. Tarapore).

⁴ This passage was quoted in connexion with the *nirang* in BSOS vii. 278.

⁵ An etymology from *gav-* 'to grow' was proposed above, p. 83.

⁶ Evident also in the *āhōkēnūtārīh* 'defiling' and *yōšdāsrenūtārīh* 'purification' of DkM 125. 4, 5.

the conception of creation as referring to the πρώτη ὕλη, the underlying (ὑποκειμένη) matter. An older use, however, is to be seen in such phrases as GrBd 65. 13 *gōhr ī kōf ī andar zamik dāt* 'the substance of the mountains was created within the earth', whence the mountains grow forth, and similarly DkM 124. 8 the *asmān gōhr* 'the substance of the sky' or GrBd 77. 12 *gōhr ī asmān*. It is used in the theological doctrine of the immutability of the *gōhr* of good and bad. So in the Dāstān ī mēnōk ī xrat 9. 7-10:

ut harv čiš vartēnūt šāyēt bē gōhr ī
nēvak ut vat ut gōhr ī nēvak pat
čīš-īč čārak ō vattarih ut gōhr ī
vat pat ēč advēnak ō vēhīh var-
tēnūtān nē šāyēt ut ōhrmazd nēvak-
gōhrih rād ēč vattarih ut drōžanīh
nē passandūt ut ahraman vat-
gōhrih rād ēč vēhīh ut rāstīh nē
patgrift

Everything can be changed except the substance of good and bad. It is impossible by any means to change the substance of good to bad and the substance of bad to good. Ōhrmazd because of his good substance has not approved any badness and falsity. Ahraman because of his bad substance has not accepted any goodness and truth.

Similarly in the Dāstān ī dēnīk 36. 70:

ān ī ōstikāntom gōhr ī dēv (i) x^oat
hast tārikīh ī-š vattarih

The most firm substance of the dēv which is itself darkness, his badness.

So also the *tamīk gōhr* 'substance of darkness' (Dd 36. 37, 44) and the *anāhōk gōhr ī gēhān* (DkM 125. 3) 'the undefiled substance of the world'.

The *tan gōhr* (DkM 608. 17) or *gōhr ī tan* (DkM 607. 5) 'substance of the body', which passed by way of the waters and the plants into the parents of Zoroaster, is tinged with mythology. So in DkM 607. 1 ff.:

ēvak-ē paīdāk kū (hač) dātār ān ī
zartuhšt tan gōhr tar āp urvar
ō pitarān¹ tan mat vazurk aβdīh

One thing manifested is this that from the Creator the substance of Zoroaster's body came through

¹ āp urvar may be understood here as a copulative compound based on the Avestan āpa. urvaire Yasna 9. 4; similarly ibid. gōspandān vīrān is Av. pasu. vīra, and here perhaps also haurdāt amurdāt is Av. haurvātā amaratātā Yasna 45. 5. But the presence or absence of W in Pahlavi MSS. is rarely trustworthy. The 'elliptical' (historically older) dual, replaced by the plural, pitarān 'parents' occurs beside pitarān mātārān 'father and mother' (Zātspram, K 35, 246 r 11), Khotanese mārāpātara, Skt. mātārāpitārā, mātāpitārau (Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik, ii. 1, pp. 151, 158; Duchesne, Les Composés de l' Avesta, 44 ff.).

paīdākīhast ō vasān čēgōn dēn
gōβēt adak kaδ ōhrmazd ān ī
zartuhšt dahišn frāč brēhēnūt būt
gōhr ī tan adak pēš nēmak ī
ōhrmazd dahišn ī zartuhšt apar
*drāt¹ apar haurdāt amurdāt apar
x^oapar adak aβr āp frōt burt
navak navak srišk srišk bavandak
ut garmōk pat ēt šātīh ī gōspandān
vīrān ān ī and šur čand 2 gāv ī
kištār-vartišn² pat ān apar urvar
rust hand harvišp sardak apar pat
ān zamān kaδ ān ī anē urvar
𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀³ apar-īč hušk ut gōhr ī
zartuhšt hač ān āp ō ān urvar
mat

the water and plants to his parents. A great wonder was shown to many. As the Dēn states, when Ōhrmazd had fashioned the creation of Zoroaster, the substance of the body, then before Ōhrmazd's creation of Zoroaster, was conveyed to Haurdāt and Murdāt the beneficent. Then the cloud brought the water down in fresh drops, drop by drop abundant and warm to the joy of cattle and men. So much liquid (sperm) as of two oxen of tillage through that rose up in the plants of every kind, at the time when other plants had withered (?) and were dry. The substance of Zoroaster came from that water to the plants.

The *čīhr*, which is of frequent occurrence, is the visible form,⁴ corresponding to the Greek εἶδος; *čīhrēnūtān* 'to give visible form to'. Hence the Pāzand *čīhranīdār* is rendered by Skt. rūpayitar- 'giver of form'. We have seen it with *dēsak* in DkM 121. 6 *bun gētiyān čīhr ut dēsak ī ditīkar būtak* 'form and shape of the basic visible things which are the second product', as we have in DkM 119. 19 *dēsak ut advēnak ut karp*. In DkM 120. 1 *pat ēn ī nūn*

¹ 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 is uncertain, possible drā-, Skt. drāti, Greek ἔδρα, see further Walde-Pokorny, Vergleich. Wörterb. i. 795. The form 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 occurs seven times, each time with apar, in DkM 601. 6-11. The repetition of apar here copies the lost Avestan original.

² kištār-vartišn may represent a lost Avestan compound such as *karšō. varāt-, but probably vartišn 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 is here an error for 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 varzišn implying an Avestan compound *karšō. varaz-, cf. DkM 575. 2 varz ut kišv 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Mid. Parth. kyšf'n, Andreas-Henning, Mitteliran. Manichaica, iii. 57). The gāv ī varzāk 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀 'ox for tilling' is often mentioned GrBd 40. 7 (cf. 232. 15); Artāy Virāz nāmak 32. 6; 75. 5; Yavišt ī friyān 4. 5; ZKA 239.11; Šāyast nē šāyast 10. 9. N.Pers. gāvvarza.

³ Possibly višast or (hō)šit?

⁴ In DkM 420. 15 we find gōhr hač dahišn ut hastīh hač paīdākīh ut čē yudtar- čīšīh hač hastīh huvap vičūtān. Av. čīvra- is explained by Pahl. paīdāk. It has also a wider meaning 'nature' as pat zōhr ī čīhr 'bv natural power' Zātspram 29. 6.

čihrenitak čihr apāč āradīhēt 'in that present informed, form is restored'. The *čihrenūtār* 'giver of visible form, informant' is named DkM 114. 15 beside the *čihr ī buništakīh* 'form of the fundamental'.

The *tōhmak*¹ 'seed' is close in meaning to *gōhr*, hence in DkM 120. 22 *tōhmak ī gētīk būtak ī hač dātār āfurrišn ut dahišn* 'the seed of the visible product through the creator's creation and making'.

Note too DkM 121. 13 *viḥān ī yudtīh ī hamgōhr* 'reason for the difference of that having the same substance', where *viḥān* is the Greek αἰρία and *yudtīh* ἀλλοίωσις and the *hamgōhr* the ὁμοιομερῆ discussed in detail in Aristotle's *περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς*.

We must now leave for the future editor of the Dēnkart these philosophical connexions and their theological contaminations to consider other teachings on the subject of man as a whole. It will be well to take first GrBd 34. 4² from which foreign influence seems to be absent:

<i>ut-aš martōm pat 5 bažišn³ frāč dāt tan ut jān ut ruvān ut advēnak ut fravahr čēgōn</i>	Man he created in five divisions, body, jān, ruvān, form, and fravahr, as follows:
<i>tan ān ī gētīk</i>	the body is that which is visible,
<i>ut jān ān ī apāk vāt patvast</i>	the jān is that which is joined with
<i>ēstēt vēn ābārīšn barišn</i>	air, the drawing in and expelling of breath,
<i>ruvān ān ī apāk bōd andar tan</i>	the ruvān is that which with the
<i>ašnavēt vēnēt gōβēt dānēt</i>	bōd in the body, hears, sees, speaks, knows,
<i>advēnak ān ī pat x^aaršēt pādak ēstēt</i>	the form is that in the station of the sun,
<i>fravahr ān ī pēš ī ōhrmazd x^aatāy</i>	the fravahr is that which is in the presence of Ōhrmazd.

¹ Cf. the list Dd 36. 14 *visp gōhrān tōhmakān čihrān ut zōhrān** *ut kārān aβzārān*.

² Nyberg's rendering in *Journal Asiatique*, 1929, I. 232 supplemented by the Glossar to his *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, will be found to differ somewhat.

³ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *bažišn* 'division, part', as DkM 677. 11, 19 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 corresponds to DkM 677. 9. 10 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 all = *bažišn* 'part'. The Parsi-Persian *دراب Hormazyār's Rivāyat* ii. 55 is equally an error for *bažišn*. Cf. also DkM 161. 11 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *bižišk* for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

* *zühr* for *zōr* occurs also in Syriac script, see F. W. K. Müller, *Festschrift Sachau* (1915), 'Ein syrisch-neupersisches Psalmenbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkistan', folio II r 1 u *pādiyāvand-ast zōhr-aš*.

We meet at once an act of creation in *frāč dāt*. It is therefore necessary to pause here to consider how this act was understood by the Zoroastrian writer. The meaning of *dātān* can best be seen in the reply attributed to Ōhrmazd on the problem of the difficulty of a resurrection of the dead, a rist-āxēz GrBd 221 f.; Pahl. Riv. Dd p. 163; Dāt. dēnik 36. 2-3; Zātspram 34. 1 ff. The GrBd passage must be given in detail:

*čēgōn gōβēt ku zartuhšt hač ōhrmazd pursūt tan ī vāt ānūt āp vāzūt hač ku apāč kunēnd ut rist-āxēz čēgōn bavēt ut-aš passax^a kart ku kač-
(am) asmān apē-stūn pat mēnōk-
ēstišnīh dūr-kanārah rōšn hač gōhr
(ī) x^aan-āsen (dāt) ut kač-ič-am
zamīk dāt kē hamāk ax^a ī asmān
ī astōmand barēt ut-aš apar-
dāštārīh-ē ī gētīk nēst ad-amk
x^aaršēt mäh ut stārah andar an-
darvād rōšn-karpīhā vāzūt ham ut
kač-am yavartāk¹ dāt ku andar
zamīk bē parkanēnd ut apāč
rōdēnd pat aβzōn apāč bavēt ut
kač-ič-am andar urvar rang dāt
gōnak gōnak kač-ič-am (andar)
urvarān apārik čīš ātaxš dāt pat
asōčišnīk² kač-am andar burtār ī
māt pus dāt srāyēnītān yudt yudt
mōd ut pōst nāxun xōn ut pīh čašm
ut gōš ut apārik pēšak bē dāt
kač-ič-am (ō) āp pād dāt ku bē
tačēt ut kač-ič-am aβr dāt mēnōkīk
kē ān ī gētīk āp barēt ōd ku-š
kāmāk vārēt ut kač-ič-am vay dāt
kē čašm-dūt pat vāt nērōk adar ut
[kač-ič-am] apar čēgōn kāmāk
vazēt pat dast frāč nē šāyēt grīstan
ēvak ēvak hač avēšān kač-(am)*

As it is stated, Zoroaster asked Ōhrmazd, The body borne away by wind and carried away by water, how do they restore it? How will the raising of the dead be? He replied, When I created the sky pillarless in mēnōk state, with far limits, bright, of the substance of x^aaina metal, and when I created the earth which bears the whole world of the corporeal sky and it has no visible support, when I bore the sun, moon, and stars into the atmosphere with bodies of light, and when I created corn that they might spread it on the earth and they grow again and return with increase, and when I created colour in the plants of various kinds, and when too I created in plants and other things fire which burns not, when I created in the mother's womb to nourish it separately hair, skin, nails, blood, fat, eye, ear, and the other limbs, when too I created feet for water that it might flow, and when too I created the cloud of the mēnōk which bears the visible water there where it wishes to rain, and when too I created air which visibly to the eye by power of the wind blows down and up as it desires, and the hand cannot grasp it, when

¹ Manich. Mid.Parth. *yw'rd'w*, Henning, BSOS ix. 90.

² The σῦμμετρον θεμεῖον of Aristotle.

dāt patiṣ duškartar büt ku rist-
āxēzišnīh ēē-m andar rist-āxēz
adiyārīh ī ēēgōn avēšān hast ī
kaḍ-am avēšān kart bavēt nē büt
apar nikār ku kaḍ ān ī nē büt
adaḥ-am bē kart ān ī büt ēim apāč
nē šāyēt kartan ēē pat ān hangām
hač mēnōk ī zamīk ast hač āp xōn
hač urvar mōd ut hač vāt jān
ēēgōn-šān pat bundahišn patgrift
x^oāhom

Manuščihr is equally clear (Dd 36. 3):

ēēgōn amōxtak framuštak¹ frahang
apāč amōxtan hač ān ī anāmōxt
āsāntar pat amōxtan ut dēstak²

I created these one by one, it
was more difficult than the rais-
ing of the dead, in that in the
raising of the dead I have the
help of such as, when I made
them, were not. Consider that,
when I made what was not, why
cannot I make again what has
been, since at that time I shall
ask from the mēnōk of the earth
bones, from water blood, from
plants hair, from wind the jān,
as they received them in the
primal creation.

As to learn again instruction learnt
and forgotten is easier to learn
than what has not been learnt,

¹ Cf. DkM 790. 12 framuštan.

² dēs- 'to form, build', ptc. dēstak (distak or dēsitak); inf. dēsitān DkM 253. 20, Dd 36. 3; dēsak 'form' DkM 115. 4, 7; 114. 17, 22; 348. 10; 119. 9; 380. 9; dēsihastan DkM 746. 11, 13, 14; Bahman Yašt 3. 56 (= ed. Anklesaria 9. 15) az ī dahāk hač bīm ī ān frētōn dēsak pat karp ī frētōn pēš (nē) ul ēstēt . . . 'Az dahāk through fear of the image of Frētōn in the form of Frētōn rises not (read 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌) up before . . .' (the story occurs also in Movsēs Xorenaci, ed. 1881, p. 133, who used andri 'statue', and in the Kitāb al-buldān of Ibn al-Fakīh al-Hamadhāni, 275. 3 ff. صورة افریدون, see R. von Stackelberg, Vienna Oriental Journal, 1898, 248); GrBd 41. 3 dēs (= Ind.Bd. 9. 11 dēsak); 146. 5 dēsak; Dāt. mēnōk ī xrat 44. 7 xāyāk-dēs 'egg-shaped'; N.Pers. -dēs. Verb and substantive are found in Manichean texts: Mid.Parth. (Ghilain, Essai sur la langue parthe, p. 95) ptc. dyšt *dišt, inf. dyštn; dysm'n *dēsmān 'building'; Mid.Pers. (Henning, Das Verbum, p. 181) dys- *dēs- 'to form, build', ptc. dysyd, dys'd; Manich. Sogd. dys, prdys, dyšt't (Henning, Ein manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch, p. 56), Buddh. Sogd. dšī'y, Christ. Sogd. dysnyt. In the Zoroastrian translation

literature we have 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 ul dēsūt for uzdaēzēm; ul dēsūt 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 ēstēt for uzdišta; pērāmōn dēsēnd for pairi. daēzayqn. Hence dēs-: dēstak (and dēsitak) beside Mid.Parth. dēs-: dišt (? dēšt) as Pahlavi frēstak beside Mid.Parth. frēštay N.Pers. firēšta, firišta with dialectal variation št—st. Note also Zātspram 29. 2

rāz ī kērōk kē katak dēsēt (𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 var. lect. 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 with intrusive 𐬌) 'a skilful builder who builds a house'; here Dd 36. 3 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 var. lect. 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 dēsitak, dēstak and adēstak dēsitān; Aḅiyātkār ī Zarērān 74 (Jamasp-Asana, Pahl. Texts, p. 10) pat ēsm ut zahr dēstak (? dēsitak 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌) 'formed of fury and poison'; probably also DkM 420. 6 ān ī apatrāst dēstak 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌.

A case of particular interest is found in the passage quoted from the Dēn in GrBd 10, on which studies have appeared by Nyberg ZDMG 82 (1928), 217 ff.,

hanbastak apāč vīrāstan hač ān ī
adēstak dēsitān āsāntar ētōn-īč ān
ī brēhēnūt brēhēnišnīh hukartar ut
škištīh kam hač dām-dahišnīh

and to rebuild a fallen building
is easier than to build one which
has not been built, so also the
creating of what has been created
is easier and the difficulty less
than the creation of creatures.

So also Zātspram 34. 6:

ōhrmazd guft ku avēšān dāmān kaḍ
nē büt hand am brēhēnūtān tuvān
būt ut nūn kaḍ büt višuft apāč
passāxtan hukartar

Ōhrmazd said, I was able to create
those creations when they were
not, and now that they have
existed and are broken up, it is
easier to restore them.

Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi, Glossar s.vv.; Scheffelowitz, Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit (1929), p. 45; B. Geiger, WZKM 40 (1933), 114 f.; Herzfeld, Archaeol. Mitteil. aus Iran, 5. 135 note 1; Henning, Gött. Gel. Anzeigen, 1935, 11; and Geo Widengren, Hochgottglaube im alten Iran (1938), 273. It is introduced by the phrase ēēgōn gōβēt pat dēn so that one may expect to find Avestan syntax mechanically represented in Pahlavi as usual in the translation literature. The Avestan type of phrase is hardly mistakable in dām ī ōhrmazd ān-īč ī ganāk mēnōk, cf. Yašt 13. 76 yač mainyū dāmān daiđitām yasča spantō mainyūš awrašča, and Yasna 28. 2 anhwā astvatatā hyačā manāhō. Hence it is possible that Avestan verses underlie the Bundahišn passage. I shall not treat of the whole passage here but should remark that in l. 15 we must certainly read kaḍ ō nikōnīh *čāh-ē kanēt 'if he digs a pit downwards'. Recall the Aogemadaēča 68 frakana- (Duchesne, Journal Asiatique, 1936, 1. 251) and the story of Zāhḥāk and his father Mirdās. Zāhḥāk dug a pit: yačī zarf čāh-ē ba-rah bar bi-kand (Šāhnāma, Vullers, i, p. 29, 127). B. Geiger's āfravēt is unsupported (and would probably need ō 'to'), and the astrological passage GrBd 54. 4 reads ul frōt yuy kast ut apzōn kunēnd 'up and down they diminish or increase the yoke'. Here, however, I wish only to treat of lines 12-13 and to propose to read:

zamān [y] mām aḅkanīhēt ī brīn
pat zamān-*īč dēstak frāč škihēt

In a determined time a house is
founded, and by time also a build-
ing is broken down.

To this is to be remarked that zamān . . . ī brīn (DH and P have the ī) is a type of Avestan syntax found in Pahlavi renderings of Avestan as Vid. 19. 14 ut-aš sag pat dast dāšt ī katak-masēy for Av. asānō zasta dražimnō katō masanhō and Yasna 9. 19 hōm zadēm ī dūrōš for haoma jaidyemi dūraoša. It may represent here Av. zrū with θwarštahe (θwarštō Yasna 19. 8 is rendered by Pahlavi brīn, and britan translates the verb θwarēs-) separated by two words, cf. Dd 36. 13 pat ān ī brīn zamān. For 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 read 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌-īč dēstak (as 𐬌 for 𐬌 in DkM 599. 2 𐬔𐬀𐬎𐬌 ēčast). For škihēt, note DkM 242. 1 kaḍ stūn ī katak škihēt katak hanbāhēt 'when the pillar of a house is broken, the house falls' (the ptc. is hanbastak Dd 36. 3; Mid.Pers. hmbh-, 'mbst BSOS ix. 83); DkM 873. 2 ku-šān kālpat bē škihēt 'their form is broken'. Henning, loc. cit., quoted Judaeo-Persian škyhnd, 'škyhyt', and N.Pers. šikihidan, šikihistan. For aḅkan- 'found' cf. GrBd 103. 11 ātaxš aḅkand 'they made a fire'; GrBd 79. 5 bēvar šahrastān apar aḅkand ēstēt; Šāhnāma Vullers, i, p. 30, 140 afgand bun 'laid the foundation'.

For these writers *dātan* and *brēhēnītan* (and the synonyms *āfritan* and *tāšītan*) imply a creation out of non-existence (*nē būt*). It is, however, possible that, if pressed, they would have explained that the non-existence referred only to the *gētīk* world behind which the *mēnōk* thing might lie.

To return then to the description of man in the GrBd 34. The *advēnak*¹ is here mythological. It occurs also in GrBd 72. 14 ff. Gayōmart² the first human being died slain by the attack of Ahraman. His *karp* 'form' was taken by Ōhrmazd and placed in the sun. But the chapter is entitled *apar advēnak ī avēšān dahišnān* 'concerning the form of those creations', and we shall understand both here and when similarly Ōhrmazd takes the *karp* of the plants (GrBd 72. 1-2) and sets it in the stars, that the *advēnak* is implied in the *karp*.³ And, indeed, speaking of the death of the primal ox (*gāv ī ēvak-dāt*) the text explicitly states that both the *tan* and the *advēnak* of the ox were similarly placed in the moon. In the GrBd passage (72 ff.), too, there is little difference between *tan*, *karp*, and *advēnak*. It is the typical form of man, of the ox, or of the plants, which is intended, and this form is set in secure places by Ōhrmazd.

The same information is given in the Pah. Riv. Dd (p. 206 f.):

karp ut advēnak ī āp ut zamīk pat The forms of water and earth are
star-pādak bē dāt ēstēt set in the station of the stars.

In the moon are other forms:

karp ut advēnak ī gōspandān pat The form of cattle is set in the
māh pādak dāt ēstēt station of the moon.

Man's form is in the sun:

*karp ut advēnak ī *martōmān pat* The form of man is in the station
χ^oaršēt pādak of the sun.

¹ *advēnak* 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀 is 'mirror' in DkM 521. 10 *čēgōn advēnak kaδ andar nikīrihēt ut χ^oēš tan andar vēnihēt* 'as a mirror when it is looked into and one's own body is seen'.

² This name is interpreted, as we saw above, p. 83, by *zīndakīh gavākīh ī mīrāk* 'mortal life and growth' in DkM 230. 8-9.

³ As above we found in DkM 119. 19 *dēsak ut advēnak ut karp*. The word *kālput*, *kālpāt* (through Aramaic from Greek *καλονόδιον*) is also often used. Zātspram 35. 23, writing of the Rist-āxēz, has *viturtakān hač zamīk ul uzāyēnd kālpātōmand ut jānīk* 'the dead rise from the earth with form and breathing soul'; Zātspram 30. 23 *kālput ī tan* 'form of the body'; 35. 58 *kaδ kālpāt andar mātākān frāč tačīšnīh ī tōhm ut jān andar šavēt*. Avestan *asta uštānōmēa* (Vid. 5. 9) is rendered by *tan ut jān kālpūt*; Dāt. *mēnōk ī χrat* 47. 10 *pād kālpūt* 'form of the foot'. Manich. Mid.Pers. *k'lyd*, BSOS ix. 84.

At the Rist-āxēz it is stated that the *advēnak* is restored to man (GrBd 223. 8):

tan apāč vīrādēt adak-šān advēnak He restores the body and then they
bē dahēnd give the form to them.

Similarly Pahl. Riv. Dd (cap. 48, § 55):

ōhrmazd ast hač zamīk ut χōn hač Ōhrmazd asks the bones from the
āp ut mōd hač urvar ut jān hač earth, blood from the water, hair
vāt χ^oāhēt ēvak ō dīt gumēčēt ut from the plants, and jān from the
advēnak <ī> χ^oat dārēt dahēt wind; he mixes them one with
the other and gives the form
which each has.

This is clearly not the *advēnak* which interprets the Aristotelian *εἶδος*. The whole moves in the sphere of mythology.

The remainder of the passage, GrBd 34, will hardly need comment. We may note the association of the *ruvān* with the *bōd*, and the interpretation given to the *fravahr* as the constituent part which stands before Ōhrmazd, and hence exists in the *asar rōšnīh*, the *gās ī ōhrmazd*. We shall see below that Zātspram gives a different interpretation.

Of the word *bōd* representing Av. *baodah*, it may be noted that the Pāzand *bōi* in the Škand-gumānik Vičār is rendered by Skt. *jīva* 'vital principle'. In Arabic script 𐭪𐭥 *būy* was used.¹ We shall meet it below as the *rōšn-dāštār ī katakχ^oatāy <ī> katak* 'illuminator of the master of the house' DkM 242. 6. The contexts assure the reading *bōd*, later *bōy*. Note also that in Yasna 26. 4 *baodašča* is rendered by *bōd āšnāk* 'the *bōd* which knows', and in Dd 15. 2 we have *bōd ī . . . ēnāk*² 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 'the *bōd* which makes feel'. The

¹ A somewhat disordered text in Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat, ed. Unvālā, ii. 55, l. 4, see B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivāyats of Hormazyar Framarz*, p. 425 and J. Tavadia, *Festschrift für M. Winternitz*, 1933, 258 ff., has in error read 𐭪𐭥 or 𐭪𐭥 as 𐭪𐭥 as well as correctly 𐭪𐭥, as he has also read 𐭪𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥 written for 𐭪𐭥 *bašīšn*. One should also probably read 𐭪𐭥 *šāh* 'master of the house' and compare DkM 241. 7 *katakχ^oatāy <ī> katak* 'master of the house' used of the *ruvān*, below, p. 99.

² The verbal base 𐭪𐭥 is frequent and the meaning 'to feel' is certain, but the reading is not yet assured. References are DkM 116. 7 . . . *išnūh*; 116. 6, 127. 13 . . . *išnūh*; 122. 10, 11 . . . *išet*; 122. 10 . . . *išnān*; 436. 19 . . . *ast*; Dd 30. 5 . . . *išnūh*, . . . *išn*; 15. 2 *bōd ī . . . ēnāk*; DkM 50. 21 . . . *ēnitak*; Dd 23. 3 *ham . . . išn ham-mārišn*; Zātspram 30. 25 . . . *išnān*. The verb *mār-* has the same meaning GrBd 150. 9 *mārāk*; DkM 162. 10 *mārišnōmand*; Dd 36. 109 *mārišn<ō>mandān*; DkM 415. 7 *mārišnān*; DkM 826. 20 *mārtan*; Pāzand SGV 1. 9 *māladāraq* 'senses' is the agent noun in *-tār*. [Read *sōh-* (see Addenda).]

SGV 5. 86 adds *bōi i xʷat vināi i ruq* 'bōy which is itself the faculty of vision of the soul'. The dispersal of these parts at the dissolution of the body will be noticed later.

The second text is the excellent analysis in the Dēnkart (241. 13 ff.) of the four *mēnōkik*¹ constituent parts of man. The *mēnōk* will come before us again. Here it may be noted that it is contrasted with the physical characteristics of the visible world, the *axʷ i astōmand* 'corporeal world' or *axʷ i gētikik* (Dd 36. 48), the world of the *gētik*. Hence the contrast of *gētik tan* and *mēnōk ruvān* in DkM 140. 20. The conception is illustrated by similes of a practical nature. It will be seen that the *ruvān* is identified with the *axʷ* (l. 16), which is the rendering of Av. *anhvā-* and *anhuš* (in reference to the two worlds, *ahu-*, the plural *axʷān* is usual). Here too an interpretation of the *rōšnīh* 'brightness' of man's body is found. In the mythology we learn from GrBd 233. 9 that of the *rōšnīh* of the primal man Gayōmart which was preserved in the sun (*apāk xʷaršēt*), a half would be given to Gayōmart at the Rist-āxēz, and a half to the rest of mankind (*ān rōšnīh i apāk xʷaršēt nēm-ē bē ō gayōmart nēm-ē pat apārik martōm bē dahēnd*). There was, therefore, a traditional belief in the *rōšnīh* of man which the writers could attempt to interpret philosophically. Here (DkM 242. 6) the *bōd* maintains the light and later in Zātspram 30. 23 the *jan* gives the light of fire to the eyes. This doctrine resembles that of Plato in the *Timaeus* 45, who has the *φωσφόρα ὄμματα* and the inner fire flowing through the eyes, as also of Empedokles, but the theory was rejected by Aristotle *περὶ αἰσθησεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν* 437 b. If, therefore, Greek influence is present, as is likely, it is not Aristotle in this case.²

The text reads as follows (DkM 241. 13 ff.):

apar mēnōkān i andar martōm On the invisible agents in man and
ut-šan kārīkar³ ut-šan kār hač their cause of action and their

¹ The invisible agents. Zoroaster possessed *mēnōk-vēnišnīh* (DkM 645. 16) 'vision of the invisible', as does a child at first: *mēnōk-vēnišnīh* (i) *navak-zātak apurnāyak tāk sahmān i gētik-šnāsīh matan* (DkM 747. 8 f.).

² In DkM 281. 1 ff. an attempt is made to explain vision in terms of the Avesta. We have (4 ff.) *vēnākīh* (i) *martōm hač āsn-xratōmandīh āsn-xrat xʷat* *hast vēnākīh nēvōk i jan čašm hačīš vīnārīšn* 'vision in men derives from the possession of the āsna xratu. This āsna xratu is itself the faculty of vision of the jan, whence the eye is ordered'.

³ *kārīkar* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 'making *kārīk*' with -ik k- as DkM 165. 9 *frēhbūtīkar* and

*nikēž¹ i vēh-dēn ēt hač vēhdēn ni-kēž andar šāyēt *ku² sahmān hač āfurrišn dahišn mēnōkān i andar martōm tan kārīkar mātākvar ēn-īč 4 i hast ruvān jan fravahr bōd ruvān hast axʷ xʷatāy i apar tan čegōn katak-xʷatāy (i) katak ut aspavār³ (i) asp rādēnītar[yh] i tan ut jan bōd ut fravahr hamist vaxš i patiš ut andar-šan aβzārō-mand(ih) i ruvān*

jan vāt i hač fravahr čīhr-uštānēni-tak⁴ pat uštānīh uštānōmand-dāštār i hast i tan čegōn druvis-t xʷartār⁵ i katak-

work. From the Exposition of the good religion. How according to the Exposition of the good religion it is possible that the separation is from the creation. Of the invisible agents in man's body the causes of action are principally these four which are *ruvān*, *jan*, *fravahr*, *bōd*. The *ruvān*, which is the *axʷ*, is lord over the body as the house-master over the house and the horseman over the horse, the controller of the body and the *jan*, *bōd*, and *fravahr* and all the spirits therein and among them the *ruvān* possesses instruments.

The *jan* is the wind from the *fravahr*, given vital form by the vitality of the maintainer of vitality which is the body, as the maintainer of the health of the

tanīkart 'made *tanīk*'. Cf. *kārīk* 'active', DkM 772. 3 *kārīkarān*; 865. 20 *kārīkīh*; 327. 2 *kārīkīh i čīšan*; 372. 1 *kārīkīhēt*; 250. 13 *kārīkēnī-tan*. Cf. also DkM 415. 18 *fravahr ut bōd ut axʷ ut ōš ut xrat ut kē [kaš] apārīk i mēnōk kārīk jan-āmēkīhā tan vīnārītar ut rādēnītar hand mārišnōmandīhā ākās-dāštārīh i jan*. Cf. for -k before *kar* Manich. Mid.Pers. *zyndkr* **zīndakar* 'vivifier', Pahl. *huniyākkar* 'entertainer'.

¹ *mikēž*. DkM 821. 1 *dēn mikēxtan* 'to expound the religion'; *mikēžtan* translates Av. *daē-*. SGV 9. 4 *nīgōž*, 14. 2 *nīgōžom*.

² See R. C. Zaehner, BSOS ix. 898.

³ *aspavār* 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 Middle Parthian beside the usual Mid.Pers. 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *asaβār*, N.Pers. *suvar*. Zātspram K 35, 237 v 16 f. has 𐭠𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *aspaβarak*.

⁴ *uštān-* from Av. *uštāna*, as DkM 826. 10 *uzuštānīhā* from Av. *uzuštāna-*.

⁵ *xʷartār* nom. agentis to *xʷār-* parallel to *dāštār* in *kārīk-dāštār* 'maintaining active'. *xʷartak-* appears in DkM 469. 8 *vēhīh ut xʷarrah xʷēškārīh ut xʷartakīh i sūtōmand ut dānišn i frārōn ut xʷastak i vēš frahaxtišnīk ut apārīk-īč nēvākīh i pahlom*. Here *xʷartakīh* means 'possession' or the like. For the form cf. *kārtakīh* 'formation' DkM 208. 16 (the form in -*art-* is found also in *vīnartakīh* DkM 167. 2, *gumārt*, *vičārt*, *vitārīh* DkM 426. 6, *uskārtak* Manuš. Epistle ii. 2. 12, *hangārt*, *vimārtan* DkM 163. 9, *mārtan* DkM 804. 8; 826. 20 and the like). In the restricted sense 'consume liquid, drink', DkM 352. 11 *xʷarīšn i urvarān xʷarīšn i āp* 'eating of plants and drinking of water', cf. DkM 169. 1; SGV 15. 30 *xʷarāšni xʷarāšni*, thence 'give to drink, irrigate' GrBd 85. 6 (of the rivers) *hamāk kišvar xʷarēnd* 'they irrigate the whole country'; 87. 6, *Manuščīhr hand āp stat xʷarēnūt* 'he dug, he took the water and irrigated'; 87. 2 *apar zamīk*

χ^oatāy ut kārik-dāštār ī asp (i)
aspavār ēt ī kad hač tan yudt bavēt
tan markihēt čegōn kad stūn ī katak
škihēt katak hanbāhēt

ut fravahr čegōn čihr-dāštār ut
parvartār-ič ī tan čegōn vīrāstār
ut āpātān-dāštār ī katak-χ^oatāy
katak mātiyār¹ ī aspavār asp ēt ī
kad hač tan yudt bavēt tan šut-zōr
ut akār māmēt čegōn katak kad
hač vīrādišn hilihēt avērānihēt

ut bōd rōšn-dāštār ī katak-χ^oatāy (i)
katak vērākāh (i) aspavār (i) asp
ut vērākēnītār ī katak-χ^oatāy
andar katak ut aspavār apar asp
čegōn rōšnīh ī gēhān χ^oaršēt ut
*čirāy ī andar katak ut ēt ī kad
hač tan yudtāk jahēt ruvān andar
tan anākāh ut tan andar-ič zinda-
kāh amārišn bavēt ut ruvān pat
fravahr ut bōd ut jān tan ašzārīh
pat χ^oēškārīh ī ašiš frēstēt apē-
vīhānakāh

The *mēnōkān ī andar martōm tan*, like the *mainyuq ī tan* of
SGV 4. 89, are the invisible agents within the body. Note too that

χ^oārīšn kunand. In Manichean texts M 177 r 12 (Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, 1908, cf. p. 132) we have *šdyg ky ny χw'ryd tsum ky χwryd pnzum ky dyyd χwōrdn* *šidīy kē nē χ^oārēd tasom kē χ^oārēd panzom kē diyēd χ^oardan 'thirdly who drinks not, fourthly who eats, fifthly who gives to eat'.

1. *ματινι* mātiyār for older *mātadār* (as *ματινισ* šahriyār for older *šahradār*) 'steward' corresponds to the Armenian loan-word *matakarakar*, from Mid.Iran. **mātakadār*, rendered by ἀποκυροποιός, διάκονος, οἰκονόμος, pistor, minister, dispensator. It is used in the phrase *takarapet eu matakarakar* 'cupbearer and steward'.

house-master and the main-
tainer of activity of the horse of
the horseman. When it is separ-
ated from the body, the body
dies, as when the pillar of a
house is broken, the house falls
down.

The fravahr is the maintainer of
visible form and nourisher of the
body, as the director and main-
tainer of the well-being of the
house-master's house and the
steward of the horseman's horse.
When it is separated from the
body the body loses strength and
remains inactive as when the
house ceases to be cared for it
becomes desolate.

The bōd maintains the light of the
house-master of the house and
the vision of the horseman of the
horse. It is the cause of vision
of the house-master in the house
and of the horseman upon the
horse, as the light of the world,
the sun, and a lamp in the house.
When it is separated from the
body, the ruvān has distress in
the body and the body though
alive becomes insensible. The
ruvān, by means of the fravahr,
bōd and jān as its instruments
in the body, sets it to its own work
without need of giving a reason.

the *fravahr* differs from the *fravahr* of the Bundahišn and approxi-
mates to the view expressed by Zātspram, as we shall see below.
It is the nourisher, *parvartār*, of the body, whence we see that
the writer intends to justify his beliefs by an etymology. He

has clearly connected *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* *fravart* with *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* *parvart*
'nourished'. SGV 8. 60 has adopted the same etymology: *pa zōr ī*
dārā farbarā ī čihar hamkār ī dīnī fravaš χ^oānihač 'by power of the
maintaining nourisher, assistant of the čihr, which in the Dēn
is called fravaš'. The use of *f* for the *p* of *parvartan* assisted here.
Zātspram has a different etymology.

The presence of the three constituent parts *jān*, *fravahr*, and *bōd*
are necessary to maintain a healthy life. But the *jān* is vital;
without it the body dies.¹

We may add here conveniently the text of the Rivāyat of Barzū
Qavāmu 'd-dīn quoted by Antia in the *K.R. Cama Memorial*
Volume, 1900, 154, in Parsi-Persian:

panj čiz ī mīnū
yakī rā jān χ^oānand
yakī rā ravān
va yakī aṣu
va yakī būy ī ātaš
va yakī rā farūhar nām

Five mēnōk things,
one they call jān,
one ravān,
and one aṣu
and one the būy of fire
and one the farūhar by name.

We have to notice here also the statement of the five mēnōk
instruments in SGV 1. 8 in which *bōi* and *fravaš* are instruments
of the ruvān:

ēdunmīča vīr hōš χard dānašni bōi
fravaš ī hēnd ruq ašazārq ī hēnd
āgāhī-χ^oāstār ī in ašazārq ī mainyō
panja ī hēnd vīnašni šnašāšni
anbōišni čāšašni padarmāišni pa
panja ašazārq ī gēθi ī hēnd čāsm
gōš vīnī dahq (dast) hamā tan
māladārq²

Likewise the recollection, memory,
mind, knowledge, bōd, and
fravahr which are the instru-
ments of the ruvān which are the
seekers of consciousness of these
five mēnōk instruments, sight,
hearing, smell, taste, and touch,
by the five instruments of the
visible world which are eye, ear,
nose, mouth, hand, the senses of
the whole body.

¹ Expressed variously. Dd 36. 40 *ut vattar vay vizānišn jān hač tan stavēnītan*;
DdM 129. 13 ff. *čihr hač jān visist jān hač tan pazdihēt ut martōm margihēt*
dahišn ašsist būt hač martōm zīndakih in a discussion of human life, *apar vīnārišn*
ī martōm zīndakih; Dd 27. 3 *hač tanōmandih bēronihēt*.

² That is **mārtār* 'that which feels', see above, p. 97, from *mārtan*.

We have the *ܡܪܬܐܡܐ* . . . *išnān* (or *šnāsakān* Zātspram 29. 6) 'senses' in DkM 48. 21 *vēnišn ašnavišn čāšišn hanbōdišn ut ptr-māyīšn*¹ 'sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch', admitting only five senses as Aristotle had done (περί ψυχῆς 424 b). The instruments are *dil čašm gōš uzvān dast pād* 'heart, eye, ear, tongue, hand, foot'.

In reference to the mind we have in the Dēnkart 48. 10 ff. *bōd, vīr, oš*, and *χrat* with the statement of their activity *vīr nērōk χ^oāstār ut ayāftār*² *oš oš dāštār ut *pātār, χrat*³ *zōr nikīrītār vičīnkar ut kārīkēnītār hast ī dānišn* 'the power of the *vīr* is to seek and acquire, of the *oš* to maintain and protect, of the *χrat* to observe and decide and set in motion, that is knowledge'. These are the three faculties of mind recognized by Aristotle ἀνάμνησις 'recollection', μνήμη 'memory', and νοῦς 'understanding'.

Add also DkM 48. 5 ff.:

vīr kār ēt čiš χ^oāstan

The work of the recollection is to seek things.

oš kār ēt ganjaβārīh kartan ut čiš ī vīr χ^oāst nikās dāstan

The work of the memory is to act as treasurer and to watch over the things sought by the recollection.

*χrat kār ēt vič[in]itārīh kartan ut vēh ut vat šnāxtan ān ī vēh grīstan ān ī vattar hištān*⁴

The work of the mind is to discriminate and to know the good and the bad, to grasp the good and to avoid the bad.

The SGV 5. 82 ff. gives a summary:

ēdumīča χrad ī har rač u vazārihəč vazīngar

u dānašni ī ayāβā

u vīr ī χ^oāstār aβaspārdār

u hōš ī ganžubar nagāhdār

Likewise the mind, the director of all and it is explained as discriminator, and knowledge which is acquisitive, and recollection which seeks and gives in trust and the memory which is treasurer and watcher, and the

¹ DkM 586. 11 *hanbōdišn*, 162. 18 *hanbōdišnīh* 'smell' to *baud-*, cf. Mid.Parth. ptc. 'mbwy'd 'kissed, embraced', Armenian *hamboyr* 'kiss' (Ghilain, *Essai sur la langue parthe*, p. 65). Of *ܡܪܬܐܡܐ* *ptrmāyīšn* the reading is uncertain: the Pāzand (SGV) has *padarmāišni*. Zātspram 30. 25 has *vēnākiḥ ut ašna(β)ākiḥ ut hanbōdākiḥ ut čāš(ā)kiḥ* which are *andar mazg <i> sar* 'in the brain'.

² Dd 2. 13 *vīr ī ayāpāk*, but SGV 5. 82 *dānašni ī ayāβā*.

³ Dd 36. 19 *ān ī vičīngar χrat*.

⁴ Cf. GrBd 190. 13 f. *oš ut vīr ut mārišn ut handēšišn dānišn ut uzvārišn*.

*u bōi ī χ^oat vīnāi ī ruq
fravaš ī χ^oat čihar dāštār ī tan
u uuh ī aβižaa
u aβarē mainyvaq ī tan-dāštār*

bōd which is itself the vision of the *ruvān* and the *fravahr* which is the *čihir*-maintainer of the body, and the *ax*¹ undefiled and the other invisible agents maintaining the body.

These are the *janik ut tanik aβzār* 'instruments of *jān* and body' (DkM 50. 8). Cf. also SGV 5. 5 *hōš ī agunast u vīr ī tāβāā u χard ī vazīnāā* 'with pure memory, keen recollection, and discriminating understanding' (in the Sanskrit *smṛtyā anāvīlayā caitanyena ca tivratareṇa buddhyā ca viviktayā*).

We need here only mention the *vārom*¹ 'mind' and *asn χrat* and *gōšōsrūt χrat*, the two last from the Avesta.

Two further opinions have still to be noticed. The place of the *ruvān* in the body is stated in GrBd 191. 2 ff.:

*ruvān-ič gās pat mazg ī sar katak
pat dil nērōk pat hamāk tan rašit
ēstēt*

The soul's place is in the brain, its home in the heart, and its power throughout the body.

Also in GrBd 193. 4:

*ēvak vāt ī janik ī hast ruvān kē-š
gās pat mazg ī sar*

One, an air of *jān* type, which is the soul, whose place is in the brain.

In the Pahlavi text of the Dāstān ī mēnōk ī χrat we have (47. 4):

*oš ut vīr ut tōhm ī martōmān gās
pat mazg ī sar ut χrat pat fratōmīh
ō mazg ī angust ī dast ī martōmān
gumēčēt ut-aš pas *nišēm ut ēstišn
gās pat dil ut-aš māništ andar
hamāk tan ētōn bavēt čēgōn pād
kālput andar *mōčak*

Of memory and recollection and the sperm of men the place is in the brain. First the mind is mixed with the marrow of the finger of man's hands and its seat and position is in the heart and its abode is in the whole body as the form of the foot is within the shoe.

¹ So in DkM 25. 11, 19; 348. 14; Pahl. Texts, p. 130, § 13; Pahl. Riv. Dd, p. 135. 28, ZKA 259. 8. In Pahl. Texts, p. 144, § 4, we have *gukārēt kēn andar vārom ī χ^oēš* 'he digests vengeance in his mind'. It does not occur in the Bundahišn. Pagliaro, *Rivista indo-greco-italica*, 1929, 63 ff., considers it as taken from Av. *vārema* 'at will', as Bartholomae, ZAIW 222, had done. But it is preferable to derive *vārom* from **vārma-* to the base *var-* 'choose' as *dārmak* from *dar-* as proposed in JRAS, 1934, 511.

This is the answer to the question asked in 47. 2 *martōmān* ōš *ut vīr ut tōm māništ andar tan čēgōn* 'What is the place of man's memory, mind, and seed in the body?' It is probably some error of reading which has given in the Pāzand *ruq mnaštan* (copied in Skt. *ātmanaśca sannivāso*) in place of *ut-aš māništ*. The *ruvān* does not belong to the question.

The second further statement is that in GrBd 196. 2 f., where it is taught that each member of the body is presided over by Ōhrmazd and the Amahraspands. Ōhrmazd is president of the *jān*:

jān <ut> *harv rōšnīh apāk jān ōš ut* The *jān* and all the light associated
bōd ut apārik hač ēn mar ōhrmazd with the *jān*, the memory, the
χ^oēš bōd, and others such are claimed
 by Ōhrmazd.

We have thus cleared away a considerable amount of testimony and are now ready to see how Zātspram analyses man. His analysis is more elaborate than any we find in other Zoroastrian texts. It will also be easily seen that he, like Ātur-farnbay ī Farraχ^ozātān, had been drinking at the well of Greek philosophy.

A transcript of Zātspram's text (29-30) *apar passācišn i martōmān* 'on the constitution of man' is given in Appendix V. We may therefore proceed direct to its consideration.

Zātspram is concerned with the preparation or constitution (*passācišn*) of man, and he likens it to the building of a house, in which flesh, bones, and fat correspond to mud, stone, and wood. There is here, as elsewhere in Zātspram and in other writers, an underlying interest in astrology, hence each of man's constituent parts is in turn considered with the purpose of associating them with the *asmānik spihr i gartišnik* 'the celestial revolving sky'.

According to Zātspram man consists of three constituent parts, and each of these is subdivided into three parts (*bažišn*) as follows:

<i>tanik</i> { <i>tanikartik</i> <i>āpik</i> <i>vātik</i>	<i>jānik</i> { <i>jān</i> <i>bōd</i> <i>fravahr</i>	<i>ruvānik</i> { <i>ruvān andar tan</i> <i>ruvān bēron i tan</i> <i>ruvān i pat mēnōkān aχ^oān</i>
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Actually in the course of the analysis a fourth division, the *dānišnik* 'intellectual', is introduced between the *jānik* and the *ruvānik* groups.

The first of the three divisions of the *tanik* 'corporeal' group,

the *tanikartik*,¹ is contained in seven layers (*tōf*), of which the innermost is *mazg* 'marrow', and around this in successive layers lie bone, flesh, fat, veins, skin, and hair.

The second division, the *āpik* 'watery, liquid', includes four liquids, blood, phlegm, *red bile* (*viš² i suχr*), and black bile (*viš i syāh*) situated respectively in the liver, lungs, gall (*zahrak*), and spleen (*spul*). This is Hippocratic doctrine³ as given in the treatise *περί φύσιος ἀνθρώπου* in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, § 4 *τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχει ἐν ἐωυτῷ αἷμα καὶ φλέγμα καὶ χολήν ξανθὴν τε καὶ μέλαιναν*. Pahlavi **drēm* (or *drim*?, Pāzand *daryam* SGV 6. 14) 'thick liquid, phlegm' gives also the explanation of Av. *driwi*.⁴

The third division is *vātik* 'aerial'. The *vāt* 'air' is situated in the heart and keeps the body alive (*zīvandak dārēt tan*).

On this *tanikartik* group more details are given in Zātspram 30 and in GrBd 191 ff.

¹ *tanikartik*, *tanikart* 'made corporeal', *tanik* with *kart* (cf. on *kārikar* above, p. 98) is a frequent word of definite meaning. In the Škand-gumānik Vičār *tanikard* is rendered by Skt. *tanukṛta* 'embodied' and *šaririn* 'having a body'. In the GrBd 90. 12 there is the antithesis of *vaχšik ayāp tanikartik* 'spiritual or corporeal' (*vaχš* will be noticed below). The *druž i tan(i)kartik* 'the incarnate fiend' appears in Kārnāmak 12. 17. According to Zātspram (35. 83) the *druž* put on and wear the garments of corporeality (*tanikartih patmōxt dārēnd*). This meaning is necessary also in GrBd 39. 2 when the *fravahrān* consent to fight for Ōhrmazd. He had made a proposal to them saying,

tanikartihā apāk druž bē kōχšēt

Will you contend with the *druž* in bodily form?

It is even applied to the *fravartīn* who are in the presence of Ōhrmazd in a piquant contrast GrBd 178. 15 ff. *fravartīn fravahr i artāy fravart ān* <ī> *pēš i ōhrmazd* [*i ōhrmazd*] *χ^oatāy ut zātān azātān kē pat tanikartik *vaχšikih* (41-40*) *apāk druž ham-ē kōχšēnd* 'the Fravartīn are the fravahrs of Artāy fravart, that which is in the presence of Ōhrmazd and of the born and unborn who ever contend in corporeal spirituality with the *druž*'. In the Manichean texts we have Sogdian *pr w'χšyk' tnygyrdy* 'nōmyt' 'in his spiritual and corporeal limbs' (Henning, *Ein manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 35, l. 559 f.). Cf. also the different compound DkM 283. 13 *tan-kartārih*, GrBd 220. 6 *tan-kartār* and Av. *tanu.karata*.

² *viš* 'poison' corresponds to *zahr* (cf. Dd 36. 31 *viš ut zahr*), but here is used in a wider sense. Cf. Pāzand (SGV 6. 39) *vaš-aβazūdā* rendered by Sanskrit *pitta-prakopin* 'agitated by *pitta* ('bile').

³ Different from the Indian medical doctrine of three *doṣas*, wind, bile, and phlegm (*vāta*, *pitta*, *kapha*).

⁴ See my note 'Avestan *driwi*' in the volume in honour of Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson; BSOS ix. 1058, and R. C. Zaehner, BSOS ix. 901 on Pāzand *daryam*.

The *jānik* triad is the second group of constituents. Of these three the first, *jān*, is hot and of the same substance as fire (*hamgōhr ī ātaṣš*). It is bright and hot. It attains to its appointed place in the body at the beginning of its formation by entering with the *tōhm* 'sperm' whose source is fire (*tōhm ī ātaṣš-tōhmak*), a view of the *tōhm* which we find also in GrBd 22. 2. This is modified Aristotelian doctrine: the *πνεῦμα*, as basis of heat, consisting of matter related to the ether *αἰθήρ*, enters the embryonic body with the sperm. The *jān* moves the body (Zātspram 6. 6 *jān kaḍ tan bē yumbēnēt*, cf. GrBd 62. 15). It is the *jān* that gives the light of its own fire¹ to the eyes (*ātaṣšayik rōšnīh ī χ^ρēs pat čašmān ō dītār āšurihēt*), just as in 35. 79 Zātspram teaches that the fire in man's body is used to illumine the eyes (*čašmān rōšnēnitan*). We saw that in the Dēnkart (242. 6) the *bōd* is the *rōšn-dāštār* 'maintainer of light' in the body of man.

From the *jān* are set in activity the senses (*šnāsakān* 29. 6) of sight, hearing, taste, and smell, and all the motions of the body are traceable to the heart which the *jān* moves.

Zātspram (29. 3 ff.) has happily chosen an elaborate simile to illustrate his theory of the *jān* in man's body. The *jān*, he says, which keeps the body alive (*tan zivandak dārēt*, an activity ascribed also to the *vāt* 'air') is like the fire in a *gumbat*.² Set in its appointed place, the *ātur-gās*, the fire sends its brightness and light (*brēh ut patrōk*) to all parts and illumines all the halls (*srāyān*)³ and it lives by feeding on its fuel; without fuel it is quenched and first the sides of the *gumbat* become cold, until all the *gumbat* is at last cold and the light has vanished. It is so that the senses lose their power and movement ceases, when the *jān* has departed.⁴

¹ *ātaṣš* 'fire' as giving light to the eyes was noted above, p. 98. The fire is considered to explain the heat (*τὸ θερμόν*) of the body.

² The *ܩܘܒܬܐ* *gumbat*, representing a domed building, from the Syriac *gubūt*, N.Pers. *gunbaḍ*, Georgian *gumbat*-i, Armen. *gmbet* 'cupola' (Hübschmann, Armen. Gram. 127) is here used as in the Nīrangastān 63a 9 *andar gumbat* *ܩܘܒܬܐ* *nē hilišn* 'is not to be admitted to the *gumbat*', and in the Šāyast nē šāyast, of the fire-house (*ātaš-kada*).

³ *ܩܘܒܬܐ* with inverse *ܩܘܒܬܐ* for *ܩܘܒܬܐ* -*āy* < *āḍ*. See Hübschmann, Armen. Gram. p. 241. For *srād* *ܩܘܒܬܐ*, see the references Bartholomae, Zum sas. Recht 5. 5.

⁴ The *jān* has in Middle Persian texts still the meaning of 'breathing soul', the *πνεῦμα*, and has not yet been confused with *ruvān*, the intellectual soul. In derivation it is no doubt correctly interpreted by **vi-āna*- 'breathing' (Skt.

The *bōd* is second of the *jānik* triad. It has the redness of fire and at death is united with fire when it leaves earth for the *mēnōk* (*ātaṣš-suxrīh rād kaḍ hač zamīk bē ō mēnōk šavēt fratom ō ātaṣš gumēxtēt*), as during life it is mixed in the *jān* (30. 22 *bōd andar jān gumēxtak*). It is the source of decision (*jān mārišn ī vičtārīhā hač bōd vēš*), and serves as messenger between the *jān* in the body and the *ruvān* outside, by receiving tidings from the *ruvān* and submitting them to the *jān* (*bōd miyān ī avēšān paidāmbarih kunēt ut ākāsih hač ruvān patgirēt ut ō jān nimāyet*). This theory differs from that of the Dēnkart (DkM 242. 6 ff.) quoted above, p. 100.

The *fravahr*, the third of the *jānik* triad, is here explained on the basis of an etymology. We saw above, p. 101, that in giving *parvartār* as an explanation of *fravart* the DkM 242. 3 was influenced by etymology. Here a different connexion is adopted. It is not clear how far Zātspram is himself responsible for this analysis. It is, however, known that his etymology was not peculiar to him, since the same is implied in the Sanskrit translation literature when *vrddhi* 'growth' in the Yasna and the Škand-gumānik Vičār is given for Av. *fravaši*- and Pāzand *fravaš*. The word *fravahr* has already been so much discussed that it will suffice to say that three forms of the word are used in Pahlavi texts, *fravart*, *fravahr*, and *fravaš*.¹ Of these forms the first, *fravart*, is the true form of the Western Iranian dialects, still retained in the month-name N.Pers. *farvardīn*. From the fourth-century Manichean texts in Western dialects we know that *hr* and *hl* in words from the Zoroastrian religious tradition² were kept

vyāna-), in Manichean texts *gy'n*, and Syriac *gyn* in *gyn-bšpr* 'life-devoting' (B. Geiger, WZKM 37 (1930), 197). Khotanese has *uysana*, later *uysna* 'breath' (**uz-ana*-) and *uysānā* 'self' (**uz-ānakā*-) as in Jātaka-stava 6 v 2 *uysānā diṣṭai ttiṇa dāṇa* 'thou (as a hare) didst cast thyself into the fire'; and also *uysnaura* (**uz-ana-bara*-) 'living being'. Av. *vyānayā* (Yasna 29. 6; 44. 7) may be understood of the 'self', but can hardly be explained of the intelligent soul.

¹ In the Manichean texts we have Sogdian *frwrttyy*, Mid.Pers. M 98 a 13 *prwryyn* (adj.), where, of course, the reading *hr* is sure. In meaning the Manicheans, rendering a different tradition from the Zoroastrians, used Sogdian *rt'w frwrttyy* of one of the five luminous bodies *panžanān rōšnān* (Waldschmidt-Lentz, Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus, p. 59) where the Arabic used *نسيم* 'breeze', that is, the ether, beside air, light, water, and fire.

² This is the religious vocabulary called *ēvāč ī dēnik* (Dd 36. 41 *drōy kē pat evāč ī dēnik x'ānīhēt mitōxt* 'falsehood which in the religious language is called *mīšaoxta*'), SGV 8. 60 *ī dīnī fravaš x'ānīhēt* 'which in the Dēn is called *fravaši*'. Contrast of *apistāk nām* and *ēvāč ī gēhān*, *ēvāč ī martōm* DkM 349. 15, 21.

distinct from *š*. But this etymology of *fravaš*¹ indicates that *hr-hl* and *š* were considered interchangeable by the Zoroastrian writers of the ninth century.² This phonetic identity permitted them to adopt a new etymology whereby the *fravaš* was associated with *fra-vaxš*- 'to grow forth'.

Hence the view of the Bundahišn (GrBd 34. 9) in this case representing Old Iranian ideas, that the *fravahr* lives in the presence of Ōhrmazd, is here ignored and in fact contradicted. It is, however, not isolated in the Bundahišn, since it is confirmed in the famous dramatic passage of the 'Decision of the Fravartīn' (GrBd 38. 12 ff.):

*apāk bōd fravahr ī martōmān uskārt
xrat ī harvisp-ākāsih pat martō-
mān frāč burt guft ku katar-tān
sūtōmandtar sahēt kaδ-tān bē ō
gētīk brēhēnom ut tanīkartīha apāk
druž bē kōxšēt ut druž bē apasi-
hēnēt ut-tān pat fražām druvist
anōšak apāč vīrādēm ut-tān apāč
ō gētīk dahom hamēik gās amarg
azarmānapē-hamēmāl bavēt ayāp-
tān hamēik pānakīh (hač) aβīgat
apāyēt kart ut-šān dīt fravahr ī
martōmān pat ān xrat ī harvisp-
ākāsih anākīh hač druž ahraman
andar gētīk patīš rasēt ut aβdom
apē-hamēmālīh hač pitiyārah (ut)
druvist ut anōšak apāč-bavišnih
pat tan ī pasēn tāk ham-ē ham-ē
raβīšnih rād pat šutan (ō gētīk
hamdātastān būt)³ hand.*

He joined thought with the bōd and fravahr of men and produced in men the all-seeing mind and said, Which seems most profitable to you, that I should create you in the visible world and you should contend in bodily form with the druž and destroy the druž, and at the end I should restore you sound and deathless and give you again to the visible world, and you should be for ever deathless unaging without opponent, or should I provide for you eternal protection from the adversary? The fravahrs of men saw by the all-seeing mind that distress would come upon them in the visible world from the druž and Ahraman but finally freedom from the enemy's opposition, and because of the restoration to soundness and deathlessness in the final body for ever, they agreed to descend into the visible world.

Here the fravahrān of men are shown the future by the power

¹ Together with other evidence, such as the use of 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 beside 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *pahlom, Sas. inscription Pārsīy prswmy.

² For the Dēnkart cf. DkM 122. 16 *fravahr kē vaxš pat ān ī ruvān ut fravaš gētīk-ič hand*.

³ So IndBd 8. 4 = K 20, 91 v 4-5.

of Ōhrmazd¹ before the creation of the gētīk, the visible world. Ōhrmazd's offer of security with inaction was rejected and they consented to enter the visible world as allies of Ōhrmazd. This is near to the meaning to be traced in the Avesta. There the *fravašis* are the assistants of Ahura Mazdā. Recall too the famous passage Yašt 13. 49² of the *fravašis*:

*yā vīsāda āvayeinti
hamaspaθmaēdaēm paiti ratūm
āat abra vičaranti
dasa pairi xšafnō
avaṭ avō zixšnānhamnd*

Who from their home come hither at the Hamaspaθmaēdaya period, then they roam about here ten nights, seeking to learn of the (desired) assistance.

They are also the *ruvān* of the dead: Yasna 26. 7 *ān bē-vitartān ruvān yazom kē ahrav fravahr* 'I reverence the ruvān ('souls') of the dead who are the ahrav fravahr'. This is a rendering of Av. *iristanqm uroqno yazamaide yā ašaonqm fravašayō*. Originally the word probably was applied to the great heroes, possessors of **vrti*- 'protective valour', whence came Mid.Pers. *gurt* 'hero', to which word also the name Φραόρτης, *Fravrtiš* 'pre-eminent hero' belongs. In Zoroastrian books the concept was enlarged to include all men dead, born and unborn.

But in Zātspram we have a great contrast to such views. He has broken with the old tradition. He explains *fravaš* (older *fravahr*) from *fra-vaxš*- 'to grow forth'. Hence he can state that the *fravahr*, *fravaš* is *frāč-vaxšēnitār* 'that which makes to grow forth'. This *fravahr* enters the body with the *tōhm* 'sperm'. It makes the various limbs to grow forth like the sprouting forth (*spēžīšn*) of the branches of a tree (the simile carries farther the etymology by *vaxš*- 'grow'). Its chief activities are *aβzūtan* 'to increase', *pātan* 'to watch over', and *vaxšēnitān* 'to make to grow' (Zātspram 30. 35).

We should add here a further extension of the meaning of *jan*

¹ For this power cf. the scene in Bahman Yašt 2. 1 f.:

*ut-aš xrat ī harvisp-ākāsih pat āp karp
apar dast ī zartuhšt kart ut-aš guft
ku (11)ē] āp x^oar zartuhšt ut-aš frāč
x^oart ut-aš xrat ī harvisp-ākāsih pat
zartuhšt andar gumēxt 7 rōč-šapān
zartuhšt pat ōhrmazd-xratīh būt*

He put his all-seeing mind in the form of water upon the hand of Zoroaster and said, Drink the water, O Zoroaster. He drank it and the all-seeing mind was mingled with Zoroaster and for seven days and nights Zoroaster possessed the mind of Ōhrmazd.

² Cf. DkM 683. 5 f. *rašiñ ī ahrav fravahr ō gētīk andar ān 10 rōč ī zimistān fražām sāl sar*. These are the *fravartikān* days.

in Zātspram 34. 50 where it is interpreted as the 'power of growth' in plants:

čegōn kaδ tōm ī urvarān bē ō āp When the seed of plants reaches
rasēt jān' zōhr ī vaχšakih hačš the water, the jān, the power of
χ^vēt bavēt growth is moistened thereby.

Here in the enumeration is interpolated the intellectual (*dāniš-nik*) triad, and here again, as we saw above, p. 102, the *vīr* ('recollection') recalls, the *ōš* ('memory') retains, and the *χrat* ('intellect') decides (*vīr x^vāhēt, ōš pāyēt, χrat vičmēt*). In 30. 32 the *ōš* is called *nikāšpat* 'chief of the guard'. In this connexion we find here no mention of *χ^varraha*.

The third group, the *ruvānik* triad, will need further consideration. The *ruvān* has the epithet *mēnōkik* (Zātspram 29. 9) and can indeed exist without the *gētik* body (DkM 140. 20 *gētik tan mēnōk ruvān*). It cannot, however, be known immediately by *ačārik-dānišnih*² (ibid. 29. 9), but can be shown by an image, just as a man who has visited India, and has there seen a rhinoceros,³ being unable to fetch one to Persia to show his fellow-countrymen, will draw a diagram of it.

The three members of the group are:

ruvān ī tanīk 'the ruvān in the body'
ruvān ī bērōn tan 'the ruvān outside the body'
ruvān ī pat mēnōkān aχ^vān 'the ruvān in the invisible world',

which is the *ruvān ī rās* 'the ruvān on the road'.

This terminology does not occur in the Bundahišn, which in general is less influenced by foreign ideas, but is not confined entirely to Zātspram. In the Dāstastān ī dēnīk (23. 3) we have the following statement:

ruvān ī andar rās-ē ō ham mēnōk ī The ruvān on the road for the same
tan kē-š ham- 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 . . . išn invisible agent of the body, with
ham-mārišn hast apar vinās ī-š which it has the same feelings
kart ut kirpak ī-š kam kart and sensations, is downcast by
čašmakās⁴ bavēt sin it has done and the little good
it has done.

¹ Or ought one to change 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 to 𐬨𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬀 *aδak* or read *aš*?

² Cf. SGV 7. 22 *ačār-dānašmihā*.

³ *karg*, N.Pers. *karg* from Skt. *khaḍga*.

⁴ Pagliaro, 'Tracce di diritto sasānidico nei trattatelli morali Pehlevici', Riv. Stud. Orient. x (1923-5), 468 ff.: HAM 39 *čašmakās* 'avarō', Dd 23. 3

The first, the *ruvān ī tanīk*, is called also *tan*, that is, 'body', because it is the *mēnōk* of the body. It is like an army commander who arrays all the members of the body against the enemy. As in the passage of the Bundahišn (GrBd 34. 7) quoted above, p. 92, so here too it is said that the *ruvān* of the body thinks, speaks, and acts (*mēnēt ut gōpēt ut varzēt*) and these activities may be either good (*frārōn*) or bad (*apārōn*).

Of the second, the *ruvān* outside the body, it is said that when the body is asleep, the *ruvān* in the body goes forth and sees the *ruvān* on the road and receives good instruction. When this takes place the *bōd* is the messenger between the *ruvān* and the *jān*.¹

The third of the *ruvānik* triad, the *ruvān* on the road, is so described that we may recognize in it the *dēn* of those writers who keep to the Avestan terminology. It is an aspect of the *dēn* who meets the *ruvān* after death, the personification of man's good or evil deeds. We meet it again below.

Animals other than man remain to be briefly noticed. They have alike *jān* and *ruvān*. In the Dēnkart (DkM 417. 14) it is said:

passācišn ī jānavarān pat hamīh ī The constitution of animals is by
ātaχš ut āp union of fire and water.

This is related to the Aristotelian derivation of the *ὁμοιομερῆ* from the four elements. But the full details of the creation of animals as given in GrBd 352 f. are again in the Iranian mythological tradition:

ut-aš gōšpandān pat pañč bažišn frāč Animals he created in five parts,
brēhēnūt tan jān ruvān aδvōnak body, jān, ruvān, form, and
mēnōk mēnōk.

The fifth part, *mēnōk*, takes the place in animals of the *fravahr* in men but is not further specified. When animals die their body goes to Gōš-urvan, the *ruvān* to Rām, the form to the moon, and

čašm kās 'che vede con i propri occhi' cf. Dāt. mēnōk ī χrat 2. 158 f. *pat čašm vēnēt*; Nyberg, *Glossar*, p. 43. It is rendered by Skt. *adarśaniya*.

¹ In the Artāy Virāz nāmak this separation of *ruvān* and *tan* is produced artificially by the use of a narcotic, *mang*, which according to Zātspram 2. 7 was the same as *bang* 'hemp' (*mang ī bang-ič x^vānihēt*). The *ruvān* remained absent seven days and on returning related the sights it had seen. The body was uninjured. For the absence of the *ruvān* in dreams, cf. Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat ii. 55 *mardumāni kih dar x^vāb šavand būy ī ātaš humānā va farūhar bi-tan bīrūn šavand har jāy āyand va ravand va binand va dānand va gūyand va šanavand va bāz avai bi-tan šavand*.

the *mēnōk* to Vahman to preserve the kind ('sign', *dayšak*), so in GrBd 35. 6-7. The *ruvān* corresponds to the Greek *ψυχή* of the *ἐμψυχα* 'animals'. The Avestan use was similar, as when in Yasna 29 we have the plaint of the *gəuš urvā* 'the ruvān of the ox', which was kept in memory not only in the Pahlavi rendering of the Yasna but in the freer paraphrase of DkM 825 ff.

We turn now to the problem of dissolution and the effect of this on the *ruvān*. Here philosophy is deserted and theology is dominant.

In GrBd 34. 10 ff. we are told:

(*kaδ*) *andar ašigatih martōm mūrēnd*
tan ō zamīk jān ō vāt advēnak ō
χ^oaršēt ruvān ō fravahr patvast¹

When during the period of the
adversary men die the body is
joined to the earth, the jān to
the air, the form to the sun, the
ruvān to the fravahr.

After the dissolution of the constituent parts of man we learn from GrBd 200. 4 ff. that the *ruvān* sits for three days after death at the head of the body in hopes that the blood may flow again and the air return to the body.

How, then, was the *ruvān* pictured after this dissolution?

Manuščihr states (Dd 30. 5) in describing the arrival of the *ruvān* of a righteous man (*ahrav*) in Vahišt:

bē ān i kaδ pat vazurk χ^oēših i dātār
mēnōkān ut gētiyān vēnišnīhā
patmōčēnd² ayāp ō getiyān mēnōk
... išnīk 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠 vēnišn ašyō-
*žēnd³ *adak-aš anē pat gētik ...*

But when by the great force of the
Creator the beings of the in-
visible and visible worlds put
on appearances; or appearances
having the senses of the invisible

¹ So also in the treatise 'Ulamā i Islām (Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat ii. 84) *kasi bi-murd yā bi-kušand, bād i vai bā bād paivast, va xāk i vai bā xāk va āb i vai bā āb va ātaš i vai bā ātaš paivast va ruvān u hūš u būy har sih yakī šavand va hama yakī šavad*. For the *bōδ*, note K 20, 168 r 1 ff. *paīdāk ku [yē] bōδ i martōm kaδ <mūrēt> ō nazdist ātaš pas star pas bē māh pas bē χ^oaršēt šavēt*.

² The doctrine of the *patmōk*, *patmōčan* 'garment' is prominent in the Pahlavi texts. So in Zātspram 34. 39 describing fraškart: *mēnōkīkih ō čīhr apērtar patmōčīhēt* 'invisibility will be increasingly clothed in form'; Dd 36. 25 *pitān-patmōčīh i χ^oat hast gētik-patmōkīh* 'the wearing of flesh which is to have a visible garment'; DkM 286. 20 f. *ut-aš hamēmāl patmōk tan i pākēnitak hač ašigat alūtākīh navak ut apāč *patmōxt*; Dd 36. 44 (of the demons) *kē-šan patmōxt *brēh i rōšnīkān*; DkM 365. 18 *pat čīhr-vēnišnīh patmōk*; DkM 246. 3 *gētik patmōk*; DkM 42. 10 ff. *patmōčan*; SGV 4. 17, 21, 30; DkM 458. 19 *bīm-patmōkīhā*.

³ *ašyōš-*, *ašyōxt* renders Av. *sraēš-*. Cf. DkM 608. 3 *āp bē ašyōxt* 'she mixed

išn 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠 mēnōkān dītan pat
ān hangōšītak tuvān čēgōn kaδ
tanihā vēnēnd i kē-š ruvān andar
ayāp kaδ ātaš vēnēnd kē-š var-
hrān andar ayāp āp vēnēnd kē-š
χ^oēš mēnōk andar hast bē pat ān
handēmānīh ōhrmazd ān ruvān
vēnēt ēvar čē ōhrmazd vispān
vēnēt

world are given to the beings of the visible world, then the others by senses of the visible world can thus see him and the beings of the invisible world, just as when they see bodies in which the soul is, or when they see fires in which Varhrān is, or when they see water in which its own *mēnōk* is. But at that admission to his presence Ōhrmazd sees the *ruvān*, assuredly, since Ōhrmazd sees all things.

To the *ruvān*, whether wearing the *patmōčan* or not is not always made clear, all the experiences of the life in the body are still ascribed. It was stated that the senses of the body, sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch are made active by the *jān* or the *bōδ* (Zātspram 29. 6; DkM 242. 6 ff.). The *jān* has now gone, but the *ruvān* retains all the faculties which it enjoyed in union with the body. Manuščihr (Dd 30. 17) explains that no fortune or joy of the visible world can be compared with that of *garōdamān* (*ān-ič i apartom nēvakīh ut rāmišn i gētikīk nē hangōšītak*). Yet the terms in which *garōdamān* is described shows no sharp distinction between the joys of bodily life and of the *ruvān*. In GrBd 190 it is recorded that *garōdamān* is a place of sweet music (*nivāk i χ^oaš*); it affords entertainment and delight (*huniyākīh¹ ut*

water' (with the milk). Dd 16. 13 *čē-šan garāntom rēmanīh ut *patvišak ašīš ašyōxtīhēt*. The antithesis is expressed probably by 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠 in Bahman Yašt 3. 56 *tāk kaδ ahrāmōy ān band čōp hač bun bē vīyōžēt* 'till the "heretic" loosens those bonds and fetters from his trunk'.

¹ *huniyāk* 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠 with derivatives *huniyākīh* 'delight', *huniyākkar* 'giver of delight, entertainer' (and *huniyākgarān* Pahl. Riv. Dd, p. 64, § 17) was later restricted in meaning to the delight of hearing sounds, whence we find the lexicographers explain N.Pers. *خونیا خنیا* *χūnyā* by 'music' and *خونیاگر خنیاگر* by 'musician' (*χūnyāgar* in the Šāhnāma, Vullers ii, p. 476, verse 688, *abā čakar u šam* u *χūnyāgarān*). Mid.Pers. *rāmišn* 'joy' appears similarly restricted in N.Pers. *rāmišgar* 'musician'. The wider meaning of *huniyāk* is clear in Zātspram 3. 80 in a description of the urvāzišt fire which is within plants:

pat-aš urvarān škōf huniyāk hučīhr ut
hubōδ kart delightful, lovely, and odorous.

The same word should be read for 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠 in Zātspram 30. 56 in reference to the *ayōkšustān* 'metals' by which a house is beautified:

rāmišn), sweet perfumes give pleasant odours and happiness; and manifold savours give fatness and good condition to the

kē-š mām patiš hučīhr ut humiyāk bavēt By which the house becomes lovely and delightful.

So too DkM 337. 4:

gētiḥ āpātiḥ ut drādišn ut čāpukih ut ašrang ut humiyākīh ut rāmišn Prosperity in the world, adornment, beauty, splendour, delight, and joy.

In DkM 545. 9 *pat humiyākīh xʷartan* 'to eat with delight' is explained to mean *ēt frāxʷ-mēnišnīh xʷartan* 'that is, to eat with easy mind'.

A connexion with sounds can be seen in GrBd 190. 6 ff.:

garōdamān rād paidāk ku-š [patiš kē] hamvār ēvāč ī pat nīvāk ī xʷaš patiš ham-ē rasēt kē ruvān humiyākīh rāmišn hačīš Of garō-*damān* it is manifested that ever therein the sound of sweet music comes whence the soul has delight and joy.

So in DkM 160. 21 ff. praising moderation:

čāšm hač zamīn ut dahān hač xʷarišn ī huadōvēr uzvān hač halakīh ut gōš hač humiyākīh ut grīv hač čāpukīh (To restrain) the eye from women, and the mouth from rich foods, the tongue from folly, the ear from 'music', and the neck (= the self) from splendour.

R. von Stackelberg, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, 17 (1903), no. 9, explained *humiyākīh* in the text Husrāu ut Rētak as 'music' with an etymological connexion with *nīvāk* 'song', hence starting from a later meaning. Unvala in his edition of Husrāu ut Rētak adopted the same meaning whence a misinterpretation resulted. The king asks (§ 61):

nahom framāyēt pursit ku humiyākīh-kar-ē katām xʷaštar ut vēh Ninthly he deigns to ask, Which is the pleasantest and best entertainer?

The page replies in § 62 with a list of entertainments, of which a few only refer to music. Hence we have, expressed by the word *vāzik* 𐬯𐬀𐬵𐬀, the N.Pers. *bāzī* 'play', Balōci *gwāzī*, used of playing games, as distinct from entertainments of music indicated here by *srāy* 'making to sound', a list: *rasan-vāzik* 'rope-walking', *zančīr-vāzik* 'chain-play', *dār-vāzik* 'rope-walker', cf. N.Pers. *dār-bāz*, *mār-vāzik* 'snake-play', *čambar-vāzik* 'circle-play', cf. N.Pers. *čambar i xanjar*, *tīr-vāzik* 'arrow-play', *tās-vāzik* 'dice-play', *bandak-vāzik* 'rope-walker', cf. N.Pers. *band-bāzī*, *andarvād-vāzik* 'air-play', *spar-vāzik* 'shield-play', *zēn-vāzik* 'armour-play', *gōy-vāzik* 'ball-play', *sil-vāzik* 'javelin-play' (I owe the reading *sil* to Mojtaba Minovi), *šamšēr-vāzik* 'sword-play', *dašnak-vāzik* 'dagger-play', *varz-vāzik* 'club-play', *šīšak-vāzik* 'bottle-play', *kapik-vāzik* 'monkey-play'. These are included with the musical instruments as a part of *humiyākīh* 'entertainments'. The page concludes with his opinion of the best entertainment, § 63:

bē apāk čang-srāy ī nēvak ī nēvakōk pat šapastān ī kamīčak ī čang-srāy ī vēh kaš-aš vāng tēž ut xʷaš-āvāč pat-īč ān hār nēvak šāyēt ut vin-srāy (ī) xʷaran ī vazurk ēč humiyākīh patkār nēst

But with an excellent beautiful player of the čang in the seraglio, the maiden who plays the čang excellently when her voice is high and sweet, and she has a facility in that art, and with the player of the vin in the great banquet-hall, no entertainment can compete.

ruvān. In Pahl. Riv. Dd 48. 107 *vahišt* is described as a garden:¹

ēgōn bōdastān-ē kē-š hamāk urvarīhā Like a garden wherein are all plants
ut spramīhā andar and flowers.

These words suit a body in the visible world. Similarly in the Artāy Virāz nāmak, the *ruvān* of Artāy Virāz saw men and women, divine beings, fires, thrones in heaven, and the beings in dōšaχʷ, and only the form of Ōhrmazd was invisible to him.

After the dissolution of the body the *ruvān* meets the *dēn*. This is the well-known meeting of which an Avestan account is preserved in the Hā2ōxt Nask (2. 22 ff.), and which appears amplified in the GrBd 201 f. and the Dāstastān ī mēnōk ī xrat (2. 123 ff.). The *ruvān* does not recognize the *dēn*, but is informed on inquiry that the *dēn*, which has taken maiden form, is his own embodied deeds (hence in Yasna 26. 4 *dēn* is glossed by *kunišn* 'acts').

Zātspram has refined this doctrine in 30. 48 where the *ruvān* ī *rās*, which for him replaces the *dēn*, is not identified with the good activities but wears them as a garment (*hač ham humēnišnīh hugō-βišniḥ ut hukunišnīh patmōk-ē patmō(č)ihēt*), and correspondingly the evil *ruvān* wears a garment of his deeds.

Then the *dēn* or *ruvān* ī *rās* leads the good *ruvān* to the region of Endless Light which is Garō-*damān* along the *srat* 'street'² by the stations of good thought, good words, good deeds (GrBd 203. 12 ff.). In this way the *ruvān* of the *ahrauv* reached Garō-*damān* and the *ruvān* of the *druvand* reached dōšaχʷ.

In the mythology should be added here a reference to the *ruvān* ī *frētōn* Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd cap. 48, and those of other heroes appearing in the legend, § 32:

pas ōhrmazd apāk amahraspandān Then Ōhrmazd with the amahra-
bē ō nazdik ī ruvān ī frētōn šavēt spans goes near to the soul of

¹ So SGV 12. 16 *bāyastānē ī vahīšt*. A garden is also part of the description in Dd 30. 17 *dārān ut draytān ut mēvakān ī narm ut yavartākān ut vāstrān ut tarrakān ut spramakān ut apārik urvarān*.

² GrBd 203. 12, 13, Aramaic *srty*, pl. *srty* from Lat.-Gr. *σῑπάρι*. *srat* occurs also Zātspram 35. 43 *ān tākām pat humānākīh ī srat-ē bavēt ē 3 pādak ī zarrēn humānāk ut-aš ahrauvān patiš apar ō vahišt šavēnd pat vēh-mēnišnīh apar ō star pādak pat vēh-gōβišniḥ ō mat pādak pat vēh-kunišnīh apar ō xʷarīšt pādak*. In noticing *srat* in JRAS, 1934, 505 I had not observed that J. J. Modi (*Journal Bombay Br. RAS* 21. 49 ff.) had indeed understood the 𐬰𐬀𐬵𐬀 as the Arabic *surrat*, but had also mentioned in a footnote سراط and سراط. On the margin of the Paris MS. was written *girt*.

*ut-aš gōβēt ku ul ēst dahāk zan
ruvān ī frētōn gōβēt ku man zat
nē tuvān ō ruvān ī sāmān šavēt ut
sāmān karšasp ul ōstēnēt ut dahāk
bē ō zanēt.*

Frētōn and says to him, Rise, slay Dahāk. The soul of Frētōn says, I cannot slay him. Go to the soul of the son of Sām. And he raises up Karšasp son of Sām and he slays Dahāk.

The mystery of Kay Husrau's translation is known. We have in DkM 598. 20 ff. the story of Kay Husrau ending with the words *pat nimēž ī hač ān vaχš ēvarčūt¹ ō rāzīk giyāk ku patiš amarg dāštār <ī> tan tāk fraškart pat dātār kām* 'by order of that spirit he (Kay Husrau) was conveyed to a secret place where he will maintain his body deathless till the Fraškart by the Creator's will'. In the text Māh ī fravartīn rōč ī haurdāt (Pahlavi Texts, p. 104, § 21) *kai husrau ī syāvaχšān pat škōh ō garō-damān šūt.*

But a still further doctrine had to be accommodated. The *rist-āχēz* with its attendant *fraškart*² was to take place. Full accounts of this event are given in our books.³ It is stated that a man is restored to life as he was at the time of death: *ruvān* and *tan* are once more united with the *jān* to live in the *gētīk* world,⁴ which by the fact of *fraškart* has become wholly free from darkness (Dd 36. 104):

*andar ān nēvaktom zamānak χ^oaršēt
māh rōšnān bavānd bē nē niyāz ō
rōč ut gartišn ut spēžišn ī frāšm
čē gēhān hamāk rōšn ut a-tār ut
vispān-ič dāmān rōšn*

In that most fortunate time there will be sun, moon, and luminaries but there will be no need of day and revolution and the shining of dawn since the whole world will be bright and without darkness and all beings too will be bright.

Here clearly is a difficulty: to reconcile the passing to Garō-damān with the *rist-āχēz*. The author of the Pahlavi Rivāyat

¹ *𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠* **adi-varč-* to Av. *vark-*. R. C. Zaehner has in Dd 36. 17 read *ačvaršēnd* BSOS ix. 901. Cf. also the variant reading *𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠* in Manuščihr, Epistle ii. 1. 4, and ii. 8. 4 *hač ērān ēvarčūtān*.

² DkM 600. 18 f. *rašišn ī sūtōmand pērōzgar aβd fraškart*.

³ GrBd 220 ff.; Dd 36; Zātspram 34 ff.

⁴ Dd 30. 100 *dahihēt zivandakih ō tan dārēnd jān ī anōšak* 'life is given to the body, they maintain a *jān* ('breathing life') which is deathless'. An anticipation of this in the form of a wish is found in the Apar 22vēnak <ī> *nāmak-nipēsišnīh* (Pahl. Texts, 132 ff.) § 2 (= Zaehner BSOS ix. 93 ff.) *pat ēt farraχ^o tan ut anōšak jān bavandakihā bavāt*.

Dd (48. 98 f.) attempted a partial solution. By means of the performance of Yašts the earth is raised to the star station:

*ut garō-damān hač ān giyāk frēt ō
star pādak āyēt pas ōhrmazd <ut>
amahraspandān hamāk yazd ut
martōmān pat ē giyāk bavēnd*

Garō-damān from that place will come down to the station of the stars. Then Ōhrmazd and the Amahraspands, all the yazds and men will be in one place.

Manuščihr, however, seems in the Dāstān ī dēnik (30. 9) to have recognized the full difficulty. He speaks of a *škišt-pursišnīh* 'a difficult question'. He knew that the *ruvān* could not go to Vahišt unless his deeds were reckoned up:

*ruvān ī vitartakān bē ō vahišt kart-
āmārih(ā) ut tōxt-vināsihā ētōn
rasēt ī kaδ-aš tāk fraškart ōd gās
ut ō navak āmār a-niyāz*

The souls of the dead attain to Vahišt only after the reckoning has been made and sins atoned for and their place is there till the Fraškart. There is no need for a new reckoning.

He was bound by his traditions. He saw the difficulty which he does not solve. But he too looked forward to the Fraškart when the beings of the *mēnōk* world would be increasingly clothed in a visible form, in the phrase of Zātspram (34. 39) *mēnōkikih ō čihr apērtar patmōčihēt*.

We have touched then upon the problems of interpreting these scholastic texts in respect of one subject. It will have been seen that the thinkers were unable to reach final or concordant views. The explanations of *fravahr* and *fravaš* show how divergent their interpretations could be. This was the first difficulty, to retain the Old Iranian traditions while adapting them to philosophy. This philosophy was Greek, reaching them probably through Syriac intermediaries. It is here that a large problem remains, to define the full influence of this thought in the Pahlavi books.

Their second difficulty was the taking over of Avestan terminology into their own dialect. These learned words were at times correctly identified with words of their own Western dialects, as when *uštān* is explained as *jān*, and the *fravahr* was called the *fravart*. When then we meet *uštānōmand-dāštār*¹ to explain the *jān* we are not farther advanced. If in the Dēnkart (DkM 241. 16) the *aχ^o* is identified with the *ruvān*, we yet find in the Avesta both

¹ DkM 241. 20, above, p. 99.

ahu- and *urvan-*, and further we have a collocation such as DkM 415. 18 *fravahr ut bōd ut aχ^o ut ōš ut xrat*. The word *bōd* (*bōy*) probably survived from the learned tradition. The 'form' was *dēsak*, *advēnak*, and *karp*, and *karp* interchanges with *tan* 'body'.

Behind them lay the Avesta with a long list of terms: *tanu-*, *kəhrp-*, *vyāna-*, *uštāna-*, *urvan-*, *daēnā-*, *fravaši-*, *qnmān-*, *baodah-*, *uš-*, *xratu-*, *vīra-*, *ahu-*, and the like. The *urvan-* goes to the abode of Ahura Mazda (Vid. 19. 28 ff.); Vahu Manah rises from his golden throne to greet it; the Rist-āxēz¹ is known; the two words *mainyava-* and *gaēthya-* offer a constant contrast. These things the writers must accept and interpret.

There is one final point which seems to deserve a brief reference: the word *vaχš*.² It is used to express an antithesis to the corporeal, the *tanikartik* (see above, p. 105). It becomes interchangeable with the word *mēnōk*. In the GrBd 190. 15 *apārik vaχš ī andar tan* corresponds to the use of *mēnōkān ī andar martōm tan* in DkM 241. 15 (above, p. 99), and the *mainyva i tan* of SGV 4. 89. Beside the *mēnōkān yazdān* and the *dēvān* we find also *yazdik vaχš* (GrBd 48. 14) and the opposite *dēvik vaχš* (GrBd 48. 14; 193. 10); *apārik vaχš ī bazak* GrBd 193. 10 and *viš ī xrafstrān vaχš ī bazak* GrBd 142. 4. Manuščihr uses *mēnōk vaχš* for the world from which the *ruvān* descends (Dd 27. 2) and *mēnōk vaχšik* of the *mēnōk ī asmān* (Dd 36. 35). In the SGV 13. 7 *vaχš i yazat* renders the Hebrew phrase of Gen. 1. 2 רוח אלהים 'spirit of God' and in SGV 14. 12 *vaχš* renders the רוּחַ of Isaiah 30. 28 probably through a Syriac intermediary.

Similarly in the Manichean texts Sogdian *zpṛtw'χš* M 172 b 15 (= Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, p. 19) and Mid.Pers. *w'χš ywždhr* are 'holy spirit', whereas the Christian Sogdian uses *zpṛt w't* for the same phrase (Syriac *rwḥ d qwds*) with *vāt* 'wind', πνεῦμα. A word spelt in the same way, Buddhist and Christian Sogdian *w'χš*,³ Mid.Pers. *vaχš* (in *vaχšavar* 'bearer of the word, prophet') means 'word'. To a similar **vaχš(a)-* (Av. *vaχšəm* Vid. 19. 15) the Parāčī γαχ 'word' can be traced (Morgenstierne, *Indo-*

¹ Yašt 19. 89 *yaṭ irista paiti usəhištāt*; Westergaard, frag. iv. 3 *us irista paiti arānti vijvāhu paiti tanušu astvā gayō dāryeite* rendered in DkM 873. 2 ff. by *ut ul rist pat ān ārādīhēt pat adīyārīh ī avē bē zīndakīh ō tan apāč dahēnd tanōmand jān dārēnd ku *pas nē mīrēnd*.

² A brief note on *vaχš* was given in BSOS vi. 280 ff.

³ Müller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte* ii, p. 15, l. 39 and glossary, p. 97.

Iran. Frontier Lang. i. 258). One is at once inclined to think of the Christian and Gnostic λόγος, Syriac *mlt* 'word'.¹

It is possible that the Zoroastrians and the Manicheans preferred to adopt a word which could be understood as 'spirit' without implication of a body. A contrast between *gētīk* and *mēnōk* is at times made by assigning *tanōmandīh* or *tanikartīh* to the *gētīk* (cf. also SGV 4. 19 *mainyōi u atanī* 'mēnōkīk and bodiless'), but this was not always observed. In the Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 46. 3-13 there is reference to the *tan* 'body' of Ōhrmazd, to his *sar* 'head', *pād* 'foot', *ars* 'tears', and *mōd* 'hair'. His *karp* (the Avestan *kəhrp-*) is mentioned (DkM 911. 20 ff.):

karp ī ōhrmazd pat nēvaktomīh The form of Ōhrmazd is praised as
stāyīt bavēt kē χ^oēš ruvān ō best by which his own ruvān is
χ^oaršēt-pādakīh bālistēnūt raised to the height of the station
 of the sun.

More consistency and clarity could be got by adopting a term which had never had corporeal associations. It is therefore natural to have the contrast in GrBd 90. 12 *vaχšik ayāp tanikartik* 'spiritual or corporeal'. It will probably be one more evidence of Western influence on these later Zoroastrian writers.

¹ This connexion has also been proposed by Schaefer, *Iranica*, p. 77. If the word is not from O.Iran. **vaχša-*, the *-š* will represent the nom. sing. *-š*, as in *ⲧⲣⲱⲥ*, drgwš, Av. *driguš*, Pāzand *daryōš* (with *ōš* as in *hōš* 'memory', Av. *uš-*), Syriac *mgwš*, O.Pers. *maguš*, Manich. Mid.Pers. *druχš*, Pahlavi *nasuš*.

IV ASMĀN

WE shall in this lecture be concerned with a problem of cosmology. It has been usual for adherents of a religion to expect an explanation of the whole world, their known universe, and if a particular individual teacher is the founder of a religion, his followers often ascribe to him knowledge so great as to be all-comprehensive, embracing not only the knowledge of the way to man's salvation, but of the visible world. It was so that Manichaïos (Mānē 𐭆𐭎𐭕𐭌𐭎) was able to satisfy his followers with encyclopaedic replies on all questions of science. It is similar, too, when we find that the Avesta contains the *visp-dānākih gōβišnān* (DkM 646. 7) 'words of all-knowledge', and, as containing the Teachings of Zoroaster, is a measure of his knowledge. Hence we find in the Dēnkart (DkM 645. 13) such a statement of his scientific understanding as the following:

*ēvak āhuft ī zartušt andar pur-
nēvakih ut bižīskih ut čīhr-šnāsih
ut apārik pēšak kērōkih bavanda-
kih ī pat yazdih-dānišnīh mēnōk-
vēmīšnīh*

One thing is revealed, that of Zoroaster's abundant good fortune, his knowledge of medicine and physics, and other professional arts, perfection in theology, and vision of the invisible world.

Cosmological questions naturally have their place in this perfection of knowledge. Hence such questions have a prominent part in the ninth-century books. The Zoroastrian writer had in the Avesta an old tradition to interpret. He quotes therefore from the Dēn and the Mansr and seeks to offer an explanation in which the newer ideas are reconciled with the old. In regard to the *asmān*, the sky, an elaborate system of cosmology is offered, whose history is traced with equal confidence and imagination into the millennia of the past and into the future.

What then were the materials to his hand in questions concerned with the sky? It will be convenient to notice the teachings under three aspects: the physical, the visible sky; the theological, the *mēnōk*, the invisible being, informing the sky; and the astrological, the revolving sphere of stars. The sky is already discussed in the

oldest part of the Zoroastrian tradition, the Gāthās, and it may be safely assumed that earlier, too, in the Indo-Iranian period, and before, the sky had been a subject of similar discussion.

The *asmān* is a created thing. We saw¹ that in speaking of creation Manuščihr, Zātspram, and the authors of the Bundahišn and the Rivāyat conceived creation as a coming into existence of something previously non-existent and used expressions incompatible with a simple transformation. As Zātspram said (34. 6), Ōhrmazd asserted to Zoroaster *avēšān dāmān kaš nē būt hand am brēhēnīt* 'I created those creatures when they had not existed'. In this context too, of the Rist-āxēz, Ōhrmazd stated that it would be easier (*hukartar*) to resuscitate the dead than it was to accomplish the difficult (*duškar*) act of creation, just as a wooden box (*kēβūt-ē ī dāren*) which has been broken can be restored, and (Dd 36. 3) a house which has been built though fallen can be rebuilt.

It will be well first to quote here the isolated and peculiar attempt to trace back the origin of created things to that out of which they were made. In the Pahlavi Rivāyat of the Dāstān ī dēnik (cap. 46, p. 128) the creation is conceived anthropomorphically, and this is perhaps due to some foreign influence. Here it is told how Ōhrmazd created the world, first within his own body, before transforming the creations into the *gētik*, visible, world (§ 3 ff.):

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3) <i>ut-aš hamāk dām dahišn hač ān
bē kart ut kaš-aš bē kart būt
aš andar ō tan burt ut-aš
3000 sāl andar tan dāšt ut-
aš ham-ē aβzāyīt ut-aš vēh
ham-ē kart ut-aš pas ēvak
ēvak hač tan (ī) x^vēš ham-ē
brēhēnīt</i> | Therefrom (from the <i>asar rōšnīh</i>) he created all creation, when it had been created, he bare it within his body and he held it in his body 3,000 years. By it he increased and became better, and then one by one he created them out of his own body. |
| (4) <i>ut-aš nazdist asmān hač sar bē
brēhēnīt . . .</i> | First he created the sky out of his head. |
| (5) <i>ut-aš zamīk hač pād bē brēhēnīt</i> | He created the earth from his feet. |
| (11) <i>ut-aš āp hač ars bē brēhēnīt</i> | He created water out of his tears. |
| (13) <i>ut-aš urvar hač mōd bē brēhēnīt</i> | He created plants out of his hair. |
| (28) <i>ut-aš ātaχš hač vārom bē brē-
hēnīt</i> | He created fire out of his mind. |

The period of three thousand years is frequently taught but the anthropomorphic addition that this was within the body of

¹ Above, p. 93.

Ōhrmazd is particular to this text. The usual teaching is given in the commentary on Vidēvdāt 2. 19:

*ōhrmazd ēn dām 3000 sāl mēnōk
āstišn dāšt
3000 sāl gētīk-āstišnīh apatīyāarak
ut 3000 sāl <hač> patīyāarak <ō>
dām matan tāk dēn matan
3000 sāl hač dēn matan tāk tan i
pasēn¹*

Ōhrmazd maintained this creation 3,000 years in a *mēnōk* condition, 3,000 years in the visible world without adversary, 3,000 years from the coming of the adversary to the creation till the coming of the Dēn, and 3,000 years from the coming of the Dēn till the body of the final time.

In the second stage of this millennial evolution, the creation in the *gētīk* world, the *asmān* 'sky' is the first created. So in the GrBd 33. 2:

*ōgōn-ič dām ī gētīk 7 brēhēnūt
nazdist asmān
dūtīkar āp
sūtīkar zamīk
čahārom urvar
pančom gōšpand
šašom martōm
haftom ātaxš kē brēh hač asar rōšnīh
gās <ī> ōhrmazd*

Just so he created the seven creatures of the visible world, first the sky, second the waters, third the earth, fourth the plants, fifth the cattle, sixth man, seventh fire whose brightness is from the Endless Light, abode of Ōhrmazd.

Similarly Zātspram 1. 20 (= K 35, 235 r 6-7):

*ōhrmazd dām tanōmandīhā bē ō
gētīk dāt
fratom asmān
ut dūtīkar āp
sūtīkar zamīk
4-om urvar
ut 5-om gōšpand
6-om martōm
ātaxš andar visp būt pargandak*

Ōhrmazd created the creatures with bodies in the visible world, first the sky, second the waters, third the earth, fourth the plants, fifth cattle, sixth man, and fire was distributed in all.

The same doctrine is given in the Dēnkart (DkM 829. 16):

*asmān man hast vastrak kē
fratom frāč brēhēnūt hač ān
getiyān <ī> gētīk*

The sky is my garment which was created first of the visible things of the visible world.

In the mythology the fravašis aid Ahura Mazdā in holding earth and sky asunder, wherein will probably be seen a reminiscence of

¹ See also GrBd 7. 1 ff.; 238. 7 ff.

an older belief which is reflected also in the Indian tradition (Varuṇa, RV vii. 86. 1 *vī yás tastāmbha ródasī cid urvī* 'who separated with supports the two wide *ródas*'). So in Yašt 13. 2 (Fravartīn Yašt):

*ānham raya x^o arənanhača
vidāraēm zaraθuštra aom asmanəm
zam pərəθwīm ahuradātəm*

By reason of their wealth and good things, I maintained apart, O Zoroaster, that sky . . . and the wide earth created by Ahura.

But in the visible world there are no supports to be seen and this aspect is alluded to several times in a way that indicates that it was part of the traditional wondering way of thinking of the sky. When the pillars of a house are broken, the house falls (DkM 242. 1-2 *kaδ stūn ī katak škīhēt katak hanbahēt*). But the sky has no pillar (*stūn*). Hence we have in GrBd 221. 14 the epithet *apē-stūn* 'pillarless':

*kaδ-(am) asmān apē-stūn pat mēnōk-
ēstišnīh dūr-kanāarak rōšn*

When I (created) the sky pillarless in *mēnōk* position, with remote boundaries, bright.

In Zātspram 34. 20:

*fratom kaδ-am asmān vīnārt astūn
an-āpar-dāštār ke-š hač ēč kust
nē hand getiyān bē-dāštārīh*

When first I established the sky pillarless without support, for which on no side are there visible things to support it.

Similarly Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 46. 4:

*ut-aš nazdist asmān hač sar
bē brēhēnūt . . .
ut-aš dāštārīh <ī> gētīk nēst*

First he created the sky from his head . . . and there is no support for it in the visible world.

We must quote also the description of the *asmān* in the Zand ī x^oartak apastāk p. 256, the *asmān šnāyēnūtārīh*:

*kaδ-aš frāč brēhēnūt asmān ī nēvak-
kart ī rōšn ī aβd-gōhr ī aβd-pēsīt
ī pur-pairādak ī mēnōk-ān-tāšīt kē
ēstēt pat mēnōk-āstišnīh astūn ut
an-āpar-dāštār ut dūr-kanāarak
ham-dāšt pat framān ī ōhrmazd
ōgōn vīnārt ēstēt ī nē ō adar āyēt
nē ō apar hanjīhēt pērāmōn zamīk
adar ut apar hamāk kustak ham
būt ku dūrih ī-š hač zamīk pat*

When he created the sky, finely wrought, bright, of wonderful substance, wonderfully adorned, with many beauties, fashioned in the invisible worlds which exists in *mēnōk* condition pillarless and supportless, with remote boundaries, held firm, and by command of Ōhrmazd is so established that it goes not down

hamāk kustak ēvotom ut hast
pur-sūt pat ādiyārih ō zamīk ī
ōhrmazddāt

nor is it drawn upwards, but
around the earth, below and
above, on all sides it is such that
its distance from the earth on all
sides is equal, and it is full of
good things to assist the earth
created by Ōhrmazd.

In the Gāthās the question is already asked, How does the sky
not fall down? In Yasna 44. 4 we have:

taṭ θwā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaočā ahurā	This I ask thee. Tell me truly, Ahura.
hasnā dərətā xqmčā adā nabāsčā	Who has held the earth below and the clouds
avapastōiš kē āpō urvarāsčā	from falling? Who the waters and the plants?
kē vātāi dvqmāi byasčā yaogəṣ āsū	Who joined swiftness to wind and mists?
hasnā vanhəuš mazdā dqmīš ma- nanhō	Who is fashioner of Vahman, O Mazda?

In the commentary we find the following:

ān ī hač tō pursēm ī rāst ō man gōβēh ōhrmazd	This I ask thee. Tell me truly, Ōhrmazd.
kē dārēt zamīk pat adārišnūh ku dāštār ē ī gētik nēst	Who holds the earth without hold- ing it, that is, there is no visible support, from falling down, that is, I know this that it does not fall down.
a-bē-ōpatišn ē ēn dānom ku bē nē ōpatēt	

This problem was clearly due to the particular view held in
regard to the material (*gōhr*) of which the *asmān* in its *tanōmand*
form was made. It seems possible that the Zoroastrian writers of
the ninth century held for long a uniform view as to this material
which was subsequently modified. I will at least set out the
evidence and indicate how it may be reconciled with some proba-
bility.

It will not be necessary here to enter into the history of the word
asmān in the Indo-European languages outside Indo-Iranian.¹ The
ninth-century writers did not treat the present problem as a prob-

¹ On Skt. *asman-* 'stone' and its cognates, see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleich.*
Wörterbuch i. 28 ff.; H. Reichelt, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 32 (1913);
J. Hertel, *Die Himmelstore im Veda und Avesta* (1924), with Hillebrandt's
courteous rejection in *Asia Major*, i (1924), 785-92.

lem of etymology. It was, however, well known to them, as the
commentaries show, that both *asman-* and the synonymous *asan-*
were used in the Avesta in the sense of stone. In Yašt 17.20 occurs
asma katō.masā 'stone of the size of a house' and the plural in
Vid. 19. 4 *asānō . . . katō.masanhō* rendered by *sag*¹. . . *ī katak-*
masāy with the explanation *sag <ī> sagēn (ut-aš sag pat dast dāšt*
ī katak-masāy būt ahrav zaratušt sag <ī> sagēn).

As slingstones we find Vid. 17. 9 *išavasča . . . asanasča* 'arrows
and slingstones' (= *tir . . . sag*). Induced by the accidental re-
semblance of sound the *asmana hāvana* 'stone mortar' Vid. 14. 10
is explained by *asēmēn hāvan* 'mortar of silver'. In the Avesta (and
the Old Persian inscriptions) the sky is *asman-* and so also in
Sogdian *sm'n-* Mid. Pers., Parth. *'sm'n*. It is hardly possible that
they could have held *asman-* 'stone' and *asman-* 'sky' to be different
words, hence from the first they were likely to be influenced in
their answer to the problem of the *asmān gōhr*.

What then is this *gōhr*? Let us start from the Gāthās. In
Yasna 30. 5 occurs the celebrated phrase:

<i>mainyuš spāništō² yō xraoždīštang</i>	The most beneficent spirit who
<i>asēnō vaste</i>	wears the hardest stones.

The meaning of *xraoždīšta-* 'hardest' seems unmistakable. We
may compare *xrūšdīsmā-* 'hard earth' (Pahlavi translation *saxt*
zamīk), contrasting with *varədušma-* 'soft earth' (rendered by *narm*
zamīk). The whole phrase may be understood as 'the invisible
being, most productive of good, who wears as a garment the

¹ ¹²⁰ *sg*, dialectal beside *sng sang*, N.Pers. *sang*, Khotanese *ssamga-* 'stone'.
Similarly Manich. Mid.Pers. *sygyn* adj. 'of stone' *sigēn* (*ng > gg > g*, rather
than O.Iran. intervocalic *-g- > -y-*, Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Manichaica*,
ii. 62), Pahlavi Psalter (ed. Barr, p. 54) *sky* 'stone'. Cf. *Khūri sik*, *sig* 'stone',
quoted BSOS vii. 757 from Iwanow, *Acta Orient.* 8 (1930), 57; Armen. *sing*,
sig 'a weight of 4 κεράτιον' (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 237), Pahl. *sang*
(Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, 154, § 2, 4, 5, 6, 7) 'a measure'. In Pahlavi
note also *rng - rg* in *ṣṛ*, *ṣṛ rang*, *rag* 'colour'; *ṣṛ* *čatrag* (Pahlavi Texts,
Husrāu ut Rētāk, 15) = *ṣṛ* *čatrang* (Pahlavi Texts, p. 115, l. 5 in the
Čatrang-nāmak); *Arang* *ṣṛ* beside *Arag* *ṣṛ*, Av. *ranha*; *vātrang*, *vātrag*;
GrBd 118. 5 *ṣṛ* beside P *ṣṛ*. Greek *χαρτίκιον* also shows absence of nasal.

² On *spanta-*, see BSOS vii. 276 ff., and 759; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les*
Sassanides, 29, has 'puissant'; Nyberg, *Irans forntida religioner*, 551, 'verksam'.

hardest stones'. It was similarly that the commentator understood with a theological nuance which will receive notice later:

mēnōk aβzōnīk ōhrmazd

The beneficent invisible being,
Ōhrmazd

kaδ-ič-aš ān ī saxt sag niħuft¹

when he donned the hard stone(s),

asmān-ič kē ē kār pērāmōn gēhān bē

the very sky which for this work

kart ku tāk ahrāyih raβāk bavāt

he set around the world that
right might have course.

The commentator seems then to have found no difficulty in understanding *asēnō*, even in the plural, to express the sky. Here, too, he rendered *asan-* by *sag*, as he had done in translating *asanasča* 'slingstones'.

Another clear statement is found in Manuščihr's Dāstastān ī dēnik, pursišn 90 (= K 35, 197 v 1 ff.):

asmān hač ē kartak hast pat ēē
vīnārt ēstēt

Of what is the sky made? By what
is it established?

pāsaχ^v ēt ku asmān hast girt ut
frāχ^v ut buland

The answer is this, that the sky is
round, wide, and lofty,

ut-aš andarōn hām frāχ^v χāyak-dēs

and its interior is equally extended
like an egg,

ut-aš gētīk rōšnīh sag ī hamāk sagān
saxttom hučīrtom

and it has visible brightness, being
stone, of all stones the hardest
and most beautiful.

Here, too, then the material of the sky is 'stone' (*sag*), the hardest of its kind, and most beautiful. It implies therefore a stone firmament above the moving atmosphere wherein birds fly.² The somewhat obvious epithet *girt* 'round' appears also in GrBd 11. 3 f. *pat ātaχš karp ī rōšn ī spēt girt frāč-paīdāk* 'in form of fire bright, white, round, and conspicuous'. So *girt* is used of the sky in Manich. Mid.Pers. *gīrd asmān* (Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Manich.* i, p. 6, l. 27) and in the Dēnkart (DkM 81. 3) *girt ī asmān*.

¹ *niħuftan* of putting on a garment, cf. *avēšān kē niħumbēnd niħumbīh* rendering Av. *yō vanhaiti varēnāšča*; and GrBd 136. 7 *apar-niħumb* (rendering also Av. *aiwi.varēna-*).

² Zātspram (9. 10 = K 35, 242 r 15) has *murv ī andarvād vāzišn* 'birds whose flight is in the atmosphere'; 34. 20 *dahom kaδ-am tanōmand murvān* (I) *pat parr andarvād vādēnēt* 'tenthly when I created the embodied birds which fly with wings in the atmosphere'. Mid.Parth. has 'ndrw'z **andarvāz*. The base *vād-* in 𐭠𐭥𐭥 will be the corresponding Persian form of O.Iran. *vāz-*. Cf. also Khotanese P 3513, 80 v 1 *hadrrauysya tsūma āša* = Skt. *viḥāyasābhyudgamyā* 'moving through the air'; P 2957. 61 *āša hamdrraysī tsvā* 'went flying in the air' from **antara-vaz-*? But see now BSOS x. 598.

In a paraphrase of Yasna 30. 5 we find in DkM 829. 15 ff.:

asmān man hast vastrak kē fratom
frāč brēhēnūt hač ān ī gētiyān
gētīk kē pat ān sag apar harvisp
sag bē dāt ēstēt ku-š hamāk gōhr
andar pēsīt ēstēt

The sky is my garment which was
created first of the visible things
of the visible world, which was
made of the stone superior to all
stones, that is, it is set within
with all jewels.

Here we have an assimilation to a precious stone, since in decorations it would seem that jewels or semi-precious stones were intended.

But Manuščihr and his contemporaries had long been, as they believed, anticipated in the attempt to define more closely the material which this *asman-*, *sag*, 'stone' indicated. In describing the sky in the Avesta the word *ayah-* is used, which is employed of metals and understood by the commentators to mean *āsen* 'iron' or *asēmēn* 'silver'. The corresponding word *ayōkšust* in the Pahlavi texts, taken from the Avestan *ayō-χšusta-* 'molten metal', was used more widely and could include *āpakēnak* 'crystal'.¹

The Avestan passage occurs in Yašt 13. 2:

ānahm raya χ^varənašhača
vīdāraēm, zaraθuštra, aom asmanəm
yō usča raoχšnō frāderəsrō
yō iməm zəm āča pairīča bvāva
mənayəm ahe yaθa vīš
aēm yō hištaite mainyu .stātō
handraxtō dūraē .karanō
ayanhō kahrpa χ^vaēnahe
raočahino aoi θrišvā

By reason of their wealth and good
things, I held apart, O Zoroaster,
that sky, which is aloft, bright,
conspicuous, which surrounds
this earth, as if it were a castle,
this sky, which exists placed in
the invisible world, established,
with remote boundaries, in form
of *χ^vaina-* *ayah-*, shining to the
three parts of the earth.

We possess no direct translation of this passage into Pahlavi, though such a translation probably existed (it will be recalled how fragmentary translations into Pahlavi of passages of the Yašts appear in the Dēnkart, as of Yašt 19. 78 f. in DkM 633). But allusions to this description are scattered about in later books. They clearly believed that the *χ^vaēna-* *ayah-* was here the name of the substance (*gōhr*) of the *asmān*. The tradition unhappily lost any clear idea of the meaning of *χ^vaēna-*. We nowadays conjecture that it was an adjective meaning 'bright'.² This would mean a sky

¹ See below, p. 131.

² See Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleich. Wörterbuch*, ii. 520; cf. Herzfeld, *Alt-persische Inschriften*, p. 232.

in the form of (or the likeness of?) bright *ayah-* (metal or crystal?). Though the commentators identified *ayah-* normally with *āsen*¹ 'iron' they do not use that word by itself of the sky. But they adopted the Avestan phrase in half translation as *χwyn* *āsen*, which in defective writing was replaced by *χwn*. This could be read *χ^van* and *χūn*, so that in Pāzand is found *χūn-āhin*² (Dāt. *mēnōk ī χrat* 8. 7).

Since in the time of Manuščīhr the *asmān* was said to be stone, beautiful, hard, and precious, and they had from the Avestan tradition the phrase *χ^ven-āsen*, it is interesting to examine their solution.

Note first GrBd 77. 11:

usindām kōf ānīhač χ^van
[*χ^ven*] *āsen kē gōhr ī asmān*

Mount Usindām, that which is of
χ^ven metal which is the substance
of the sky.

This supplies merely the identification of the *χ^ven-āsen* with the *gōhr* of the sky.

In GrBd 221. 14 occurs the nearest paraphrase of Yašt 13. 2, quoted above, p. 123:

asmān ape-stūn pat mēnōk-ēstišnih
dūr-kanārak rōšn hač gōhr ī χ^ven
āsen

The sky, pillarless, placed in the
invisible world, with remote
boundaries, bright, of the sub-
stance of *χ^ven* metal.

It is not a literal translation but the absence of pillars (*apē-stūn*) is familiar; *pat mēnōk-ēstišnih* renders *mainyu.stātō*; for *dūraē*. *karanō* appears *dūr-kanārak*; *rōšn* represents *raočaḥinō*, and the phrase *ayanhō kahrpa χ^vaēnahe* is replaced by *gōhr* <ī> *χ^ven āsen* with *gōhr* in place of *kahrpa*.

Other details of the Avestan text appear in GrBd 18. 3:

nazdist asmān dāt rōšn paidāk[yh]
*apēr dūr-*kanārak *gōhr³ <ī>*
χ^ven-āsen

First was created the sky bright,
conspicuous, high, with remote
boundaries, the substance of
χ^ven metal.

¹ We have now in Manichean texts Mid.Pers. "hwn, Mid.Parth. "swn, BSOS ix. 79.

² Hence Windischmann and Justi understood *χūn* as 'blood', neglecting the Avestan connexions, and rendered by 'ruby'; and West, *Mainyo i Khard*, p. 127, approved. Casartelli, *La philosophie religieuse du mazdéisme*, p. 101, also has 'fer de sang'.

³ Quite conjectural. TD 2 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌, DH 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌, P 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌. Mr. R. C.

Here *paidāk* renders Avestan *frādarəsro* as *frāč paidāk ku tan paidāk* does in Vid. 22. 1, and probably 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *apēr* corresponds to *usča* 'above'.

But elsewhere identifications were made. If we dare assume that a unitary tradition is at the base of these interpretations, an effort to recover it may be repaid. A clue is probably to be found in GrBd 173. 3. Here the Endless Light, the *anayrān* or *asar rōšnīh*, is explained:

anayrān mēnōk <ī> anayr rōšn ī mān
*ī gōhr-pēsīt suft-*āpakēnak ī*
mēnōkēn-tāšūt

Anayrān is the *mēnōk* of the Endless
Light, a mansion, jewel-adorned,
of pierced crystal, created in the
invisible world.

A lost Avestan passage may lie at the basis of this.¹ But I wish to notice particularly the word I have read *āpakēnak* 'crystal'. In the Paris MS. the word is written 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌, but in TD2 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌. The interchange of 𐬀 and 𐬀 is to be found often (e.g. 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 for 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *suxr*), as a glance at the apparatus criticus of a Pahlavi

Text will show. Here I may quote Dāt. dēnik 36. 107 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *M<Y>Agr āp-gar*. Alternation of final 𐬀 and 𐬀 is also known, as in GrBd 184. 1 DH 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *bunak* = TD2 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 but in 184. 2

TD2 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌. Note also here 𐬀 for 𐬀 -*en*- which is known elsewhere.

In the case of this same suffix we have *samakēn sahmakēn* 'terrible' GrBd 202. 1, 2 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌; 202. 3 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌; Dd 32. 3 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌;

36. 65 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *samakēntar*; 36. 7 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *samakēnīh*; DkM

167. 8, 9, 14 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *ēšmakēnīh* 'wrath' (cf. Georgian *ešmak-i* 'demon'), N.Pers. *χašmgīn*; Dāt. mēn. χr. 44. 12 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *ēšma-*

kēnān, Pāzand *χašmgīnān*; Vid. 2. 23 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *bimakēntar*; Dāt.

Zachner has suggested to me to read *dūr<-kanārak> χāyah-dēs*, but I hesitate to find *χāyah* here. For the use of 𐬀 for 𐬀 cf. GrBd 55. 15 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 *vahār*. 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌

may have replaced the 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌 of 𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌, a common writing of 𐬀𐬎𐬌 *gōhr*.

¹ These phrases are not, however, given in the Zand ī χartak apastāk in the Anayrān passages 174, § 30; 180, § 30; 258-9.

mēn. 𐭠𐭣. 1. 151 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *bimākēn*, Pāzand *bimgin*, N.Pers. *bimgin*;¹

GrBd 153. 6 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *sarakēnak*, *sargēnak* (to Avestan *saire.hya-*)

'manure' = IndBd 45. 18 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣, N.Pers. *sargin* (loan-word in

Syriac *srqyn-*, and Arabic *sarqin*); GrBd 153. 8 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *srgn sargēn*.²

One other point in this present word must be noticed: with the Aramaic mask the older spelling with 𐭠 *k* is used medially in the suffix *-akēnak*, whereas when the whole word is written phonetically we find 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *'pgynk* for **āḡayēnay*, Pāzand *āḡgina*, N.Pers.

āḡgina. So in K 20, 60 r 15; K 35, 243 v 6-7; 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 GrBd 100. 9;

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *āpagēnakēn* GrBd 210. 2, 10; 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 (with corrupted

variant 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 without 𐭠) Pahl. Riv. Dd p. 160, l. 5. Similar

archaism is found also with the Aramaic words in verbal forms.

Hence occurs 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *m'nd mānd* 'remained' with *d* beside 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *KTRWNt* with *t*. If all these various points are considered, one is justified in reading 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 as *āpakēnak*.³

The word *āpakēnak* itself needs a brief note. It is formed from *āp* by the two suffixes *-ak* and *-ēnak*. The first derivative in *-aka* is attested in Ossetic, Digor *avgä* pl. *āvgtä*, *āvgtä*, Iron *avg* pl. *āvgtä* 'стекло, бутылка, Glas, Flasche'; adj. Digor *avgin*, Iron *avdžyn* 'gläsern, aus Fayence', whence the Hungarian *üveg*. Armenian has a loan-word *apaki* 'crystal, glass' (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 103). In N.Pers. it was also abbreviated to the suffix *gina* (Vullers, *Lexicon*, ii. 1065 quoting a verse of Ḥakīm Sūzanī), the word having been misunderstood.

In Sogdian the word ''*pkyn*'*k* *āpakēnak* renders Chinese 琉璃 *liu-li* 'crystal' (taken from Sanskrit *vaidūrya* through Middle Indian, Khotanese *vārūlya*, and written in full 璧流離

¹ A compound with *sam bim* 'terror and fear' occurs in Dd 36. 40 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *sam bim kun* 'causing terror and fear' but this will be different.

² It will be seen that I consider 𐭠 to be *scriptio defectiva* for 𐭠 *ēn* and that I do not feel able to accept a suffix *-kan*, as adopted by Nyberg, *Glossar* 36, s.v. *bimakan*.

³ This will be found confirmed below, hence to read 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *yākand*, which would be easy, will be unacceptable. For *yākand* see DkM 206. 5 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣, Pahl. Riv. Dd p. 160, l. 7 *yākandēn* 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣, but Kārnāmā (ed. Antia 15. 18) 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 **yākūt*. Mid.Parth. has *y'kwnd* (BSOS ix. 89).

pi-liu-li, Karlgren 723 *piek*, 564 *liəu*, 533 *lije*) in the Dhyāna Text 362 'wyh ''*pkyn*'*k* ''*šp*'*yry čntr nystk* = Chin. *assis dans une grotte de vaidūrya* (JA, 1933, ii. 210, where Benveniste, p. 237, seems to have missed the identification). As we find Christian Sogdian *spnynč* as a substantive in the form of a feminine adjective to mean 'iron' (Müller-Lentz, *Soghdische Texte*, ii. 95) *mydč'nw spnynč* 'as iron', so also in Buddhist Sogdian ''*pkynč* is used for 'crystal' in the same Dhyāna text 207 *m'yd AYKZY 'sp'ytk ''pkynč* 'like white vaidūrya'. Here *šy ywnč m'yδ AYKZY 'sp'ytk ''pkynč* *ywyz'kw rywšny pry''βywn'k* corresponds to the Chinese *de couleur pareille au vaidūrya, blanches, pures, aimables* (JA, 1933, ii. 204, where also the identification was missed p. 230; *pry''βywn'k* will contain *pry''β* - < **pari-abra* - 'cloud' and *yōnak* 'colour').

For the classification of *āpakēnak* it must be noted that in GrBd 100. 9 it is listed among the eight 'metals' (the *ayōksust* of GrBd 70. 1 ff. from the body of Gayōmart) *sruβ arcīč sēm āsen rōd āpagēnak pōlāβad zarr*¹ 'lead, tin, silver, iron, copper, crystal, steel, gold'.

Next observe the passage in the Dāt. mēn. 𐭠𐭣. 56. 14:

<i>ut aβr ī 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 āp hač zrēh statan</i>	And the crystal cloud to take water
<i>ut pat andarvād vādēnitan ut</i>	from the sea and to convey it
<i>patmānīhā srišk srišk ō zamīk</i>	through the atmosphere and to
<i>vēxtan</i>	scatter it in due measure drop
	by drop upon the earth.

The Pāzand has, evidently quite rightly, read *āḡgina*² 'crystal', since 'water-like, crystal-coloured' would well describe a cloud. Here then, too, the word *MYAkēnak* has been corrupted, though the Pāzandist understood it. In place of 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 one should have **𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣*.

We have here two examples of how the scribes (or perhaps the authors themselves) could corrupt the half-Aramaic word, for

¹ The list in Zātspram K 35, 243 v 6-7 reads *zarr asēm āsen rōd arcīč sruβ āpagēnak almās*.

² Rendered into Sanskrit by *kāca-ratna* 'crystal, glass-jewel'. With Sanskrit *kāca* we must probably connect O.Pers. *kāsaka*, *kāsakaina*, Pahl. *kāsakēn* (GrBd 210. 10 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭣 *kāsakēn*), assuming a borrowing on both sides of a foreign word and giving different forms in Indian and Iranian, as we find happened in the case also of 'emerald' Skt. *marakata*, but N.Pers. *zumurrud*, Armen. *zmrouxt*.

which the phonetic spelling 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 had probably become more usual. We must consider other passages in which, in assuming a unitary tradition, corruptions of this same *āpakēnak* may be concealed.

Let us venture to look at GrBd 36. 5 which identifies the substance of the sky:

asmān hač gōhr ī 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 ayōkšust The sky is of the substance of the
ayōkšust (metal, mineral). . . .

If we assume that here *āpakēnak* was intended, the explanation of the word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 is not difficult. All readers of Pahlavi MSS. will have observed that 𐭠 and 𐭣 tend almost, at times, to fall together so that a reading of 𐭠 for 𐭣 is possible.¹ A scribe occasionally indicated the presence of an unwritten *y* by writing two dots below, as GrBd 104. 13 TD2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = DH 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *rēxt*, GrBd 87. 12 TD2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = DH 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *Sagistān*, GrBd 114. 11 TD2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = P 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *riyēt*. Two dots above indicate that the scribe intended a word containing *g*. We saw above, p. 130, in IndBd 45. 18 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *sargēn* a final *y* for *-ēn* beside GrBd 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *sargēnak*. Hence each change of *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 into 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 is simple to understand. We must recognize that in GrBd 36. 5, too, the substance of the sky is *āpakēnak* 'crystal'.

From this explanation, still assuming a unitary tradition, it is possible to understand a still more troublesome passage, GrBd 18. 5:

χ^vēn āsen² ī hast gōhr The χ^vēn āsen which is the sub-
stance
𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *almāst ī* *almās* which is. . . .

The word *almās* will be noticed below. It is possible that here, too, we have a corruption of *āpakēnak*. An extreme case, but

¹ A case of confusion occurs in GrBd 35. 13 where P has correctly 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *azrōpēt* (for *uzrōpēt*) but TD2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 where 𐭠 has replaced *S*_(u) or *S*_(y).

² TD2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, DH 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

³ TD2, DH, but P 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

explicable. We should first recognize the frequent intrusive 𐭠.¹ This would leave *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 in which one could recognize the 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 of GrBd 36. 5 with like explanation.

A further problem allowing of two possible solutions is presented by the appearance of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 twice in the cosmological passage of the Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd cap. 46, as p. 128, § 4:

ut-aš nazdīst asmān hač sar bē First from his head he created the
brēhēnūt ut-aš gōhr hač 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 sky and its substance was of
spēt white. . . .

Similarly p. 130, § 8:

asmān gōhr <hač> 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 <ī> spēt The substance of the sky was white
rōšn ut-aš rōšnīh hač ān ī χ^varšēt . . . bright, and its brightness is
from the sun.

Since in GrBd 19. 10 TD2 (DH deficit) has 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *hač zamīk* for the *hač āp 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 zamīk* of P, we might easily suppose in the first passage here 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 for **hač āpakēnak*² (in the second passage 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 has clearly been lost). I should prefer this explanation. But one might suppose that a word 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 **kēn* or **kēnak* had been abstracted from *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *āpakēnak* (not from 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 which would have given 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 **gēnak*), as the Persian poet later could use 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *gīna* for *ābgīna*. In either case the substance of the sky will again be 'crystal' and here qualified as 'white crystal', in agreement and confirmation therefore of the previous interpretations.

I should like to find *āpakēn(ak)* also in DkM 206. 2 ff.:

ut andar patmōkān pat ān ī suxr ut And among garments in that red
𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *patmōčan kē pat harvisp* and crystal-coloured (?) garment
pēsīšn pēsīt ēstēt pat sēm ut zarr which is decorated with all kind
ut karkahan of decorations in silver, gold, and
chalcedony.

Here 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 could be understood for *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. R. C. Zaehner

¹ Nirang. 180 v 7 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *sulāk*; GrBd 118. 15 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *sinjat*; GrBd 154. 11 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = IndBd (Pāzand) *zōbara*; DkM 411. 22 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *aršāsp*; GrBd 57. 14 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *vanand*; GrBd 32. 6 DH 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *vāstryavšīh*.

² 1) for a final 𐭠 or 𐭣 is familiar, cf. e.g. GrBd 118. 10 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 = IndBd 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.

(BSOS ix. 304, 314) read **āp-gōn* comparing N.Pers. *ābgūn*. It does not, however, immediately concern us here.

Let us return to *almās*. The bye-form *almāst*, Pāzand *almāst* (if one should not read *𐭠𐭥* for *𐭠𐭥𐭥*: *almāsēn*) will have a secondary -t.¹ The Greek *ἀδάμας*, originally a divine metal, later explained as (probably) steel and diamond, is the same word. I am unable to judge of the proposed connexions with Assyrian² *abān-elmēšu* 'diamond'; *abān-nisigtu elmēšu*, the jewel *par excellence*, 'the jewel diamond'. We are concerned here with the meaning of *almās* in Middle Iranian. In the Dāt. mēn. χρ. 8. 7 we find:

ut *asmān hač gōhr ī χ^vēn āsen kart* The sky was made of the substance
ēstēt čēgōn almāst-ič χ^vānēnd of χ^vēn metal which they call also
almās.

The Sanskrit has rendered by **pāṇḍura-sikṣya*- 'yellow crystal', certainly therefore understanding *almās* as diamond. But here for χ^vēn āsen the Skt. has *tikṣṇa-loha* 'steel' and we must probably recognize also the meaning of 'steel' beside 'diamond' in *almās*. In the two lists of metals and minerals arising from the body of Gayōkmar, GrBd 100. 8 ff. and Zātspram quoted above, p. 131, the GrBd has *pōlāβad* 'steel', where Zātspram gives *almās*.

It is clear that if they wished to keep to the sky of *sag* 'stone' or *pāṇḍura-sikṣya* 'yellow crystal' or *āpakēnak* 'crystal', *almās* was intended for 'diamond'. But the use of *āsen*, for Avestan *ayah*, easily would lead to the explanation of this *almās* as 'steel'. In the Šāhnāma *almās-paikān* 'tipped with *almās*' could mean either diamond or steel. In the Parsi-Persian we find in the Rivāyat of Dārāb Hormazyār ii. 59, l. 8 *va āsmān az almās ast* 'and the sky is of *almās* ("diamond")',³ but also in a similar text⁴ *āsmān az almās ast ya'nī az pūlād ī šāf ast* 'the sky is of *almās*, that is, of pure steel'. They have not succeeded in reconciling their texts.

Three other facts within the department of physics remain to

¹ Pāzand *xāmast* for Pahlavi 𐭠𐭥𐭥 KHDH has a similar t, if it corresponds to Manich. Mid.Pers. *hm̐ys*. Manich. Mid.Pers. 'rm's (BSOS ix. 80) is translated 'steel' by Henning.

² *Reallexikon d. Assyriologie*, ii (1938), 269.

³ B. N. Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz* (1932), p. 427, rendered 'ruby'.

⁴ Bartholomae, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, p. 120.

be noticed, the shape of the sky, the windows in the firmament, and the astronomical distances and sizes.

The sky is spherical with an outer boundary called *parkān*¹ (the τὸ ἔσχατον in contrast to the τὸ μέσον of the world according to Aristotle). It has been seen that the *asmān* is round. Its spherical shape is indicated in GrBd 18. 10:

parkān bun ī asmān čandih Of the basic boundary of the sky
pahanād ī-š drahanād čandih the width is as great as its length,
drahanād ī-š bālād ut čandih its length as great as its height
bālād ī-š zahyād hamōk-handāč and its height as great as its depth,
 wholly equal.

The same spherical shape is meant in the Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 46. 4:

ut-aš pahanād ut bālād rāst ut-aš Its width and height are equal.
zahyād ī parkān an and hast čand The depth of its boundary is as
*pahanād ī tuhikih*² great as the width of the void.

Such is also the doctrine of Aristotle, whence probably it has been derived, as in the Περὶ οὐρανοῦ 286b 10 σχῆμα δ' ἀνάγκη σφαιροειδὲς ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν. He taught also the spherical earth at the centre of the kosmos within the sky (ibid. 297a 8 σχῆμα δ' ἔχειν σφαιροειδὲς ἀναγκαῖον αὐτήν).

A more popular and less exact way to explain the shape of the sky was to compare it to an egg with the earth representing the yolk within. This view was attributed to Empedokles διὰ τὸ ὥφω παραπλησίως τὸν κόσμον κείσθαι.³ It will be well to insist that the view is here concerned with the physics of the sky and is not theological or cosmological.⁴ Hence we have in Zātspram when Ōhrmazd expounds the details of his creations (34. 20):

¹ 𐭠𐭥𐭥, cf. JRAS, 1934, 517. DkM 212. 22 *ēvak pat-ič ān ī parkān ī gēhān stūn ī χ^vatāyih ut vīnārišn ī dēn māzdēsn ōstikāntar masēnitān* (repeated DkM 214. 14); DkM 209. 6 *apar gētik χ^vatāyih ī ān ī dām-pānak vēh χ^vatāy ērih parkān*.

² The *tuhikih* 'void' of Zātspram 1. 27 (K 35, 235 v 6) and the *višātākīh* of Zātspram 1. 1; in GrBd 3. 5 *ut-šān miyān tuhikih būt*.

³ Diels, *Doxographi graeci*, p. 363.

⁴ Contrast the phantasy of Epikouros εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ψοῦ δίκην τὸ σύμπαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδὲς περὶ τὸ ψὸν ὡς στέφανον κτλ. apud Diels, loc. cit., p. 589; the Magian cosmology given by Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* (quoted by Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae*, p. 48) καὶ εἰκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ψὸν ἔθηκεν κτλ.; or the Indian *Brahmāṇḍa*.

dātīkar kaδ-am zamīk vīnārt miyānak
 (i) *asmān kaδ ō katār-ič-ē nēmak*
nē nazdīktar būt humānākīh i
zartak i xāyak miyān (i) xāyak

Secondly when I established the earth in the centre of the sky so that it was on no side nearer, like the yolk of an egg in the centre of an egg.

Similarly in the Dāstastān i mēnōk i xrat (43. 8 ff.) in reply to the question *asmān ut zamīk čēgōn vīnārt ēstēt* 'sky and earth how have they been established?':

asmān ut zamīk ut āp ut apārīk
harv čē andarōn xāyak-dēs ētōn
humānāk čēgōn murvān xāyak
asmān hačapar zamīk (ut hačadar
zamīk¹) xāyak humānāk pat dast-
kārīh i dātār ōhrmazd vīnārt
ēstēt ut zamīk andar miyān (i)
asmān hangōštak ētōn humānāk
čēgōn zartak miyān (i) xāyak

The sky, earth, waters, and whatever is within are in form of an egg, just like the egg of birds. The sky above the earth and below the earth like an egg is established by the work of the creator Ōhrmazd and the earth in the centre of the sky is just like the yolk in the centre of the egg.

The Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 46. 5 reports the same of the *asmān*:

ut-aš humānāk ētōn čēgōn xāyak ē
kē-š murvičak andar

It is just like an egg wherein is a young bird.

So also Manuščīhr (Dāt. dēnik 90):

asmān hast girt ut frāx^o ut buland
ut-aš andarōn hām frāx^o xāyak-
dēs

The sky is round and extended and lofty and within it equally extended like an egg.

For the distances we have the statement of the Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 46.² There is a distance of 34,000 frasangs between each of the stations (*pādak*) of the stars, moon, and sun, and also from this earth to the stars, making in all 136,000 frasangs. This would then also be the measure of Mount Harburz which at the time of the first earthquake when Ahriman forced his way through began to grow from its *gōhr* (**gavaθra-*, *gav-* 'to grow') and rose upwards through the stations of stars, moon, and sun to the sky passing each stage in 200 years (Zātspram 7. 6; GrBd 76. 9 ff.).

Of the astronomical sizes the accounts differ. The Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 65 states that the disk (*girtak*) of the sun is as large

¹ So the Pāzand *u azēr zamī*.

² Reappearing in the Parsi-Persian texts, see Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat ii. 59 where also a second tradition is reported = Dhabhar, *Persian Rivayats*, p. 426 f.

as *Ērānvēž*, which is a seventh of the *kišvar* (continent) of *x'aniras*; the disk (*girtak*) of the moon is two frasangs in length and in breadth, and the stars are each as large as a house: *star ēvak ēvak* and *čand katak masāy*, an old traditional measure, known in the Avestan *katō.masah-*. The teaching of the GrBd 29. 7 is not wholly clear:¹

hač avēšān stārahān ān i mas čand
 **dāl² ē i katak masāy ān i miyān*
čand čaxrak. nihuftīšn ān i kas
čand sar (i) gāv (i) katakīk mäh
čand asprēs-ē 2 hāsr čēgōn harv
hāsr-ē i pat zamīk frasang pat-
mānak humānāk x^oaršēt and čand
ērānvēž

Of those stars the great ones are as large as a peg (?) the size of a house; the middle ones are as large as covering of a spinning-wheel (?); the small ones are as large as the head of a domestic ox. The moon is as large as a stadion, two *hāθra* (each *hāθra* is equal to a frasang on the earth). The sun is as large as *Ērānvēž*.

It was also felt necessary to explain the appearance and disappearance of the sun, moon, and stars and to decide upon the relationship of the sun to the sky. According to the Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 46. 8 the sky received its brightness from the sun:

*asmān gōhr (hač) *āpakēnak (i)*
spēt rōšn ut-aš rōšnīh hač ān i
x^oaršēt

The substance of the sky is of bright white crystal and its brightness derives from the sun.

This opinion is confirmed by Manuščīhr (Dāt. dēnik 36. 71):

ān-ič i fratom tom tār i andar gēhān
pat hambun-ič zōr-ē i x^oaršēt

That primal darkness which was in the world is annihilated by even

¹ The Parsi-Persian (Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat ii. 59 '*arž u tūl i sitāra i buzurg si u si farsang, va 'arž u tūl i sitāra i miyāna panj gaz, va 'arž u tūl i sitāra i xurda bi-miqdār i sar i gāv ast*') does not help in the difficult parts.

² **čē* may safely be understood as the Aramaic *ššā* 'nail, peg, wing'. In GrBd 140. 1 occurs *ēn ātaxš i kē ham martōmān vīr x^oānēnd ham *čē hand* 'this fire which men call alike *vīr* (N.Pers. *bīr* 'thunderbolt') and which are **čē*'. A 'peg' in form of a thunderbolt, naturally hard, might be Mid.Pers. *dār* or *dāl* 'wood'. Hence in GrBd 19. 13 *nazdist 3 ēvak-ē ēn zamīk frāč brēhēnit saxt čēgōn *čē dār* 'first he created one-third of this earth hard like (**čē*) *dār*', a similar sense of hardness is present [the use of *dār* written phonetically with the Aramaic **čē* = *dār* is a known practice, cf. Artāy Virāz nāmāk 16. 7 *čē fōr* = *časm* and Dāt. dēn. 36. 17 *čē* (read *čē*) = *tīr*]. If **čē* is then *dār* (*dāl*) it has got into Frahang i Pahlavik 8. 1 by confusion with the first syllable of *dālman*. [Note that *dālman* occurs Zātspram 34. 3 *gurg ut 14^o dālman*; Pahl. Riv. Dd 46. 27 bis. *dālman* = Av. *zarənu.māniš*.]

*spēžišn hamākihā ānāpīhēt gēhān.
rōšn:hēt

a little of the force of the sun's
shining and the world is made
bright.

In explaining the movement of the sky the theologian, not the philosopher, writes that at the primal creation (DkM 173. 6) the sun was set in the highest part of the *asmān* (*bālist* <ī> *asmān*), and was stationary (*ēstātāk*) so that it was always noon (cf. GrBd 29. 14 *hamvār nēmroč*; 38. 11 *hamēšak nēmroč hast* <ī> *raβišin*). Movement was caused by the entrance of Ahriman. Contrast the κίνησις which Aristotle posited by nature, φύσις (*Περὶ οὐρανοῦ* 269a). How then did the luminaries disappear? The Zoroastrian writer replied, By 'windows',¹ in the crystal firmament.

The theory is set out in most detail in the Pahlavi Rivāyat Dd 65:

raβišn ī χ^oaršēt rād rōčēn 180 pat
ōšastar ut 180 pat dōšastar nihāt
ēstēt χ^oaršēt pat ēt and rōčēnihā
āyēt ut šavēt

In regard to the movement of the
sun 180 windows are set in the
east and 180 in the west. By so
many windows the sun comes
and goes.

raβišn ī mäh rād rōčēn 135 pat
ōšastar ut 135 pat dōšastar nihāt
ēstēt mäh pat ēt (and) rōčēnihā
āyēt ut šavēt

In regard to the movement of the
moon 135 windows are set in
the east and 135 in the west. The
moon by so many windows
comes and goes.

raβišn <ī> starān rād rōčēn 90 pat
ōšastar ut 90 pat dōšastar nihāt
ēstēt starān pat ēt and rōčēnihā
āyēnd ut savēnd

For the movement of the stars 90
windows are set in the east and
90 in the west. By so many
windows the stars come and go.

Hence there were for the sun 360 windows, 270 for the moon, and 180 for the stars. The 5¼ additional days, the *pančak ī vēh*, to make up the 365¼ days of the solar year are here omitted.

The doctrine is older than the Pahlavi Rivāyat since part of it occurs in the GrBd 55. 6 to explain an Avestan passage.²

¹ *rōčēnihā*, openings through which light could be admitted. Cf. Yidgha-Munji rūžen, Parāči rūčōn used of the 'smoke-hole' (Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iran. Frontier Languages*, ii. 245; i. 283) of a hut.

² Yašt 12. 25 *upa taērēm haraūdyā bərəzō*
yašt me aiwītō urwisanti
starasča māsča hvarəča.

žēgōn gōβēt ku tērak ī harburz kē ān
ī man χ^oaršēt ut mäh ut stārakān
hač pas apāč vartēt
ēē 180 rōčēn hast pat χ^oarāsān 180
pat χ^oarparān pat harburz χ^oaršēt
harv rōčēn pat rōčēn-ē andar āyēt
pat rōčēn-ē bē šavēt

As it is stated, the peak of Harburz
by which my sun, moon, and
stars pass and return.

Since there are 180 windows in the
east and 180 in the west. By
Harburz the sun each day enters
one window and goes out by one
window.

The theory of windows for the luminaries to enter occurs long before in the well-known passage in the Book of Enoch. Since this book was known to the Manicheans and fragments referring to it in Middle Iranian have been found in Central Asian texts¹ it is not possible to exclude altogether influence from it here in the ninth-century Zoroastrian writers, but the details are divergent. So we find in the Book of Enoch both portals and windows (72. 3):²

And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and six portals in which the sun sets: and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead: six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order: and also many windows to the right and to the left of these portals.

Before leaving the physical sky, let us recall the story of Kāōs and his flight through the atmosphere, whereof a reminiscence is recorded in GrBd 60. 5-6:

ēn nišānak pat asmān kē rās ī kāōsān
χ^oānēnd ut rās ī gōčīhr mār

This sign in the sky which they
call the 'Path of Kāōs' and the
'Path of the serpent Gōčīhr'.

We must turn now to a brief review of the theological attitude towards the sky. We saw that the *asmān* had been created. In GrBd 22. 8 it is specified at what period this creation took place:

nazdist asmān brēhēnūt pat 40 rōčē
žēgōn hač rōčē ī ōhrmazd <ī>
māhīk <ī> fravartīn tāk ēn rōčē ī
āpān <ī> māhīk <ī> artavahišt

First the sky was created in 40 days,
which is, from the day Ōhrmazd
(first day) of the month Fravartīn
(first month) to the day Āpān
(tenth day) of the month Artava-
hišt (second month).

¹ Henning, *Ein manichäisches Henochbuch*, SBAW 1934. The Book of Enoch formed part of the Canon of the Ethiopian Church.

² R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 1912 (translation); text in *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1906 (with fragments of the Greek text).

being in the *mēnōk*, and, as the invisible being of the sky, resists the attack of Ahriman. The destructiveness of this attack is frequently stressed whereby the valour of the spirit of the sky is made more evident. So in *Zātspram* 4. 3:

*miyān ī ēn harv kōxšīšn gumēčak
rādēnīšnā ahraman (guft) ku-m
bavandak mat pērōzīh ē-m škāft
asmān ut āhōkēnūt pat tom ut tār
ut-am grift pat drupuštīh*

In the midst of all these conflicts whence contamination came Ahriman said, My victory is complete, since I have broken open the sky and soiled it with darkness and have attacked the fortress.

In the GrBd 42. 2:

*ut-aš mār humānāk asmān (i) ha-
čadar ī ēn zamīk bē jast frāč x^vast
bē škast mār ī fravartīn rōč ī
ōhrmazd andar dvārast nēmroč
ut-aš asmān ētōn hačīš bē tarsit
čēgōn gōspand hač gurg*

In likeness of a serpent he darted to the sky below the earth, he trampled it apart and broke it. In the month of Fravartīn (first month), the day of Ōhrmazd (first day) he entered at midday and the sky feared him as does the sheep the wolf.

Similarly *Manuščihr* (Dāt. dēn. 36. 33):

*ul patūt dušdānāk ō ān miyānak
srīšvatak kē-š andar vēh dām ī
ōhrmazd dāt ut-aš zat gāv ut-aš
margōmand kart gayōknart ut-aš
čandēnūt zamīk ut-aš škast būm
tārik būt dahišn*

The villain rose up to the central third part wherein were created the good creatures of Ōhrmazd and he slew the ox, made Gayōmart to partake of death, shook the earth, broke up the lands, and the creation became dark.

It is at this point that the elaborate descriptions of the *mēnōk* i *asmān* as a mighty warrior are introduced, and the story of his capture of Ahriman. The account of the Greater Bundahišn is in 60. 11:

*mēnōk ī asmān čēgōn ān ī arvand
aratēštār kē zrēh ī ayōkšustēn
dārēt (i) x^vat hast asmān patīrak
ī ganāk mēnōk bē vīnārt patist*

The invisible being of the sky like the gallant warrior who wears a coat of mail, who is himself the sky, was established to oppose

according to *Zātspram* 23. 3 ff. The *mēnōk* i *asmān* come to the hampur-sagīh of Artavahišt, the *mēnōk* i *ayōkšustān* to the conference with Šahrēvar, the *mēnōk* i *kišvarān* ut *ōstām* (ān) ut *rōtastākān* ut *dēhān* to the conference of Spandārmāt, the *mēnōk* i *zrēhān* ut *rōtān* to the conference of Haurdāt, and the *mēnōk* i *x^varišn* to the conference of Amurdāt as the *gōspandān* come to the conference of Vahman.

*burt tāk kač ōhrmazd drupuštīh
saḡttar hač asmān pērāmōn ī
asmān bē kart*

the Destructive *mēnōk* and he resisted him till Ōhrmazd had made a stronger fortress around the sky.

*ut-aš fravahr ī aratēštārān ī ahravān
gurt (i) asp- (bārak) ut nēzak-
dast pērāmōn ī ān drupuštīh ōgōn
bē gumārt čēgōn humānākīh ī mōd
(i) sar hangōšītak avēšān kē dru-
puštīh pās pāyēnd ān drupuštīh
avēšān ahravān patīš ēstēt *ī
ahravān ākāsīh x^vānēnd ut-aš nē
ayāft ganāk mēnōk vītarg (i) apāč
dvārišnīh*

The fravahrs of the righteous warriors, heroes on horses and spearmen were set around that fortress like hair on the head, like those who keep watch over a fortress. To that fortress those righteous ones stand fast which they call the 'Knowledge of the Righteous'. The Destructive *mēnōk* found no passage-way to escape.

Zātspram 5. 1-3 (K 35, 237 v-238 r) has a more dramatic account:

*druž . . . čēgōn andarōn asmān āmat
adak-aš mēnōk ī asmān aratēštār
humānāk ī arvand kē ayōkšustēn
zrēh patmōxt dārēt asmān aš pat
burz (v) āng *ut staft *x^vrōsišn
guft ō ahraman ku nūn kač andar
āmat hēh at apāč nē hīlom bē
*vītart tāk kač ōhrmazd pērāmōn
asmān any drupuštīh-ē ī saḡttar
bē vīnārēt (i) ašavak ākāsīh[ā]
x^vānīhēt*

When the druž came within the sky, then the invisible being of the sky, like a gallant warrior clad in mail maintains the sky. With loud voice and harsh shout he said to Ahriman, Now that you have entered, I will not let you pass out till Ōhrmazd builds another stronger fortress which is called the 'Knowledge of the Righteous'.

*ut-aš ašavakān fravahr ī aratēštārān
pērāmōn ān drupuštīh aspašārak
ut nēzak-dast ōgōn bē vīnārt
čēgōn vars apar sar humānākīh ī
zīndān-pānān kē hač bēron zīndān
pāyēnd ut dušman hač andarōn
parvast sahmānān ī bēron nē
hīlēnd¹ āmat pat ham zamān
ahraman kōxšīst ku apāč ō x^vēš
bavandak[y] tārikīh šavēt ut-aš
vītarg nē ayāft ut-aš gumān-
sahīšnīhā bīm ī hač fraš(ām)-
ōmandīh ī *9000 sāl sar būt fraš-
kart pat čīhr bē ōsmārt*

The fravahrs of the righteous warriors were set around that fortress riding horses and holding spears in hand like hair upon the head, as prison warders who watch the prison without and the enemy is enclosed within, while at the same time Ahriman struggled to return to his own perfect darkness but he found no passage-way. He feared in the vision of doubts the term of the period of 9,000 years and he accounted the fraškart to be manifest.

¹ Ahriman caught within the sky also in *SGV* 4. 12 čun ganāmāinyō andarun āsmān pēčīšt and 15 band u dard u pēčīdai ī andarun āsmān.

Less fully this mythos appears in GrBd 172. 14 in the list of *mēnōkān yazdān*:

*asmān mēnōk (i) asmān kē gurtih
humānāk pat tan dārēt ēn asmān
dārēt ku ganāk mēnōk apāč
dvāraſtan nē hišt ut-aš ahrav-
ākāsih pat ham adyārih apāk
vinārt ēštēt*

The *asmān* is the invisible one of the sky who has armour as it were on the body. He maintains this sky so that he has not allowed the Destructive *mēnōk* to escape, and to help him the 'Knowledge of the Righteous' was established.

The fear of *Asmān* and his valour are also in the GrBd, so in 42. 2:

*ut-aš asmān ētōn hačiš bē tarsit
čēgōn gōspand hač gurg¹*

The sky feared him as the sheep the wolf.

and in 18. 13:

*mēnōk i asmān hačiš patgrift dru-
puštih hač ganāk mēnōk ku apāč
dvāraſtan nē hišt čēgōn gurt i
aratēštār kē zrēh patmōxt ēštēt
ku apēbīmihā hač kārīčār bōxtēt
mēnōk i asmān asmān ētōn dārēt*

The invisible being of the sky received from him the fortress against the Destructive *mēnōk* so that he did not permit him to escape. Like a hero, a warrior wearing mail, so that he is saved fearlessly out of battle, so the invisible being of the sky maintains the sky.

An allusion to the warrior *mēnōk* of the *asmān* occurs also in the *Dātaſtān i dēnik*, pursiſn 90 (K 35, 197 v 4) *čēgōn gurt (i) takik aratēštārān*.

With this conception of a protective fortress around the sky another mythos has been combined based upon a different Avestan text: *Yasna* 9. 26, the *Hōm Yašt*:

*frā tē mazdā barač paourvanim
aiwydānham² stahrpaēsanhām main-
yutāštām vanuhim daēnqmāz-
dayasnām*

To thee *Mazdā* gave the *Parvanya* as a girdle, star-adorned, created in the invisible world, the good *Dainā* of the *Mazdā*-worshippers.

¹ As in *Zātspram* 2. 2 (K 35, 235 v 11-12) *asmān yudt-gōhrīh rād ōgōn bē tarsit čēgōn mēš hač gurg larzēt*.

² On the girdle, see Ed. Schwyzler, 'Profaner und heiliger Gürtel im alten Iran', *Wörter und Sachen*, xii (1929).

The Pahlavi translation and comment to this is as follows:

*frāč tō ān i ōhrmazd burt 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩¹
star-pēsīt i mēnōkān-tāšīt vēh dēn
i māzdēsnaſn ut-aš aišyāhanīh ēt
ku čēgōn kustīk apāk mart ēv-
kartak dēn-ič i apāk hōm ēv-kartak
ut-aš ēv-kartakīh ē ku tāk hōm nē
χ^varēt pat dēn āstavān nē bavēt
hōm χ^vart kār andar yazīšn*

To thee *Ōhrmazd* gave the *parvany* (*parvand* 'enclosure'), star-adorned, fashioned in the *mēnōk*, the good *Dēn* of the *Mazdayasnians*. Its being a girdle is this that as a girdle is united with a man, so the *Dēn*, too, is united with the *Hōm*. Its being united is this that till he drink *hōm* he is not an initiate of the *Dēn*; after *hōm* has been drunk, he is occupied in worship.

The identification of the second fortress, the *ahrav-ākāsih*, with the *dēn* of *Yasna* 9. 26 is then given in the *Dātaſtān i dēnik* (36. 100) as follows:

*ān i ahrav-ākās (ih) *kē χ^vat χ^varra
i dēn i mēnōk pat ān i rōšn karp
asmān-dēs ham pērāmōn i asmān
parvandīhēt² kad-aš hač harv
kust-ē bavēt zahyād rād 3 and
čand zamīk (i) ōhrmazd-dāt*

That (fortress called) 'Knowledge of the Righteous' which is itself the force of fortune of the *Dēn* in the invisible world, in that bright form, like the sky, is built around the sky, so that on each side for its depth is three times as much as the earth created by *Ōhrmazd*.

And so the *asmān* became a man encircled with a sacred girdle, the *dēn i māzdēsnaſn*. So in the *Dātaſtān i dēnik* (36. 34-6):

*tārik būt dahišn dvāraſt hand dēv
adar apar kustak ut-šān nišvārit
ō-ič ān i apartom srišvatak ku
garō-đamān i apēčak mat hānd ō
apārik asmān i miyān srišvatak
ōd aišyāst ēštēt mēnōk vaχšīk ān i
band drupuštīh kē-š harvišp ban-
dān nikās ašīš i χ^vat hast vazurk
χ^varra kē-š harvišp bandān nikās*

Creation became dark. The *dēvs* entered below and above and they hastened to the highest third part, that is, the pure *Garō-đamān*; they came to the other sky, the central third part. There girt up stood the spiritual *mēnōk* with that prison of the fortress which has watch over all

¹ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 *parvany* (or *parvan i*), here a transliteration of Av. *paourvanya-*, was understood as 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭩 *parvand*, hence its easier association with the *parvand* 'enclosure' of the sky.

² Other allusions in the *Dāt. dēn.* are 36. 13 *andar saxt asmān zīndānik parvast* 'within the prison enclosure of the hard sky'; 36. 10 *parvast i rōšnān*; 36. 18 *hač parvastār rōšnān*; 36. 99 *ēn rōšnīh parvast*.

dēn apēčak gumān-vičār brāzihast
bāmuk ut dūr-pairōk čegōn aiβ-
yānghān ī star-pēsīt ī mēnōkān-
tāšīt vēh-dēn ī māzdēsān ētōn-ič
brāzēt rōšnān ī pur-χ^varrahan ut-
aš nē būt ētūkih ēč dēv ut druž
nē-č avē-č dēvān dēv māzantom
pat ēč gurtih tar ān ī vīmand ul
dvārēt ut apāč kaft hand

Manuščihr repeats this also in the Dāt. dēn. 38. 13 ff.:

evak ēn ku pēšenik dēn-ākāsān bē ō
amāk [pēšenikān ō amāk] ēn srav
patvast kač aβigat bē <ō> dām
mat frahist dēv ut parik ō dvārast
hand pat būm andarvād ut tāk ō
hačadar ān ī starān gās ut-šān dīt
vasān rōšnān ān-ič ī dēn χ^varrahan
kē band ut drupuštih ut parvand¹
ī vispān kāmākān kirpakān kač
brāzihast rōšn kustik humānāk
ut-aš parvast pat parvand <ī>
vispān rōšnān čegōn parvand ān
ī harvisp-ākās xrat parvast bavēt
vispān-ākās yazdān

ān vazurk χ^varrahan ī gumān-vičār ī
apēčak dēn ētōn hučihr ut dūr-
brāzišn būt čegōn gōβihēt andar
mansr² ku aiβyānghān ī star-pēsīt
ī mēnōkān-tāšīt vēh dēn ī māz-
dēsān

The doctrine appears also in the GrBd 193. 11:

andar gētik χ^varrahan ī dēn ī māz-
dēsān kustik humānāk ī star-

¹ 𐬨𐬀𐬵 and twice in the sequel.

prisons, which is itself the great
force of fortune, which has watch
over all bonds, the Dēn, pure,
doubt-solving. It shone bright
and far-shining. Like the girdle,
star-adorned, fashioned, the good
Dēn of the Mazdā-worshippers,
just so the lights full of the force
of fortune shone and it was not
possible for any dēv or druž, nor
any most monstrous dēv of dēvs,
by any valour to mount up be-
yond that barrier but they fell
back.

There is this fact that the ancient
knowers of the Dēn handed on
this sacred lore to us: when the
adversary came to the creation,
dēvs and parik entered in hosts
in the atmosphere of the earth
and as far as the lower part of
the place of the stars and they
saw many luminaries and that
very force of fortune of the Dēn
which is the prison, fortress, and
enclosure of all desires and good
deeds, when it shone like a bright
girdle and it was enclosed in the
enclosure of all the luminaries,
as the enclosure of the all-know-
ing intelligence was enclosed by
the all-knowing yazdān.

That great force of fortune, the
doubt-solving pure Dēn was so
beautiful and far-flashing, as it
is stated in the Manēra, The
girdle star-adorned, fashioned in
the invisible worlds, the good
Dēn of the Mazdā-worshippers.

In the visible world the sky was held
by the force of fortune of the Dēn

² This is Yasna 9. 26.

pēsītak mēnōkān-tāšīt ān spihr
dāšt ēštāt 3-tāk andar 4 grēh ku
tārikih ut rēmanih ut apārik gumē-
čakih ō apardar nē gumēčēt¹

of the Mazdā-worshippers like a
girdle star-adorned, fashioned in
the mēnōk, being in three strands
in four knots so that darkness
and filth and other contamina-
tion should not contaminate the
higher region.

One other aspect remains to be briefly touched upon, the
astrological. Here the word *spihr* is more frequently employed and
in association with *survān* 'time' (GrBd 166. 12), which destiny
implies. We have in the GrBd 25. 9:

čegōn <gōβēt ku->š nazdist spihr
brēhēnūt ut-aš [ut-aš] starān <ī>
axtarik patiš gumārt hand

As it is stated, First he created the
sky and appointed therein the
stars of the constellations.

The *spihr* is the visible star-filled sky, as in GrBd 44. 8 f.:

spihr ō gartišn χ^varšēt mäh ō raβišn
ēštāt

The sky began to revolve and the
sun and moon to move.

So in Zātspram 30. 1 *asmānik spihr ī gartišnik* 'the celestial
revolving sky'. The half-sky is noticed in the GrBd 29. 2:

ut miyān <ī> nēm spihr gumārt vāt
ut aβr ut ātaxš <ī> vāzišt

In the midst of the half of the sky
were set wind and cloud and the
Vāzišt fire.

The 'sky above the sky' is known in the GrBd 28. 8:

ēt rād star ī agumēčakih χ^vānīhēt
čē kač pityārak apar avēšān
nē gumēxt hand axtar-āmārān
χ^vānēnd spihr ī hačapar spihr

For this reason it is called the star
uncontaminated because the ad-
versary did not bring contamina-
tion over them. The astrologers
call it the sky above the sky.

Astrology plays indeed a large part in the writings of Zātspram,
the Bundahišn, the Škand-gumānik Vičār, and the like, and it
would be useful to have a collection of all such matter with a com-
parative study. As we saw, books on *star-gōβišnih* are known to
the Dēnkart (412. 17 ff.) from foreign sources. It is likely, too,
that the word *spihr*, although historically representing an O.Iran.
**spīθra*,² was similar enough to the borrowed **spēr* from Greek

¹ Cf. GrBd 194. 12 f. *asar rōšnīh gās ī amahraspandān garō-damān ut vahišt
spihr <ī> agumēčišn spihr ī gumēčišn asmān.*

² As Nöldeke had already seen, *Persische Studien*, 1888. The word is attested
in the name Σπιθραδάρις; its *sp-* indicates its non-Persian form.

σφαῖρα, attested in Manich. Mid.Pers. and Parth. 'špyr (Henning, BSOS ix. 81),¹ to be used for it. Hence in GrBd 29. 2 *nēm-spihr* may intend 'hemisphere'.

In the simple sense of *asmān*, note finally DkM 646. 4 f.:

vas mēnōkik spihrik ut vayik ut Abundant good from the invisible
zamīkik ut anē-č gēlik sūt world, the sky, the atmosphere,
the earth, and other visible things.

¹ Recall *zōr* written 𐭪𐭥 *zwr* and 𐭪𐭥 *zwhr*, above p. 92.

V

PATVAND

THE present problem, that of the transmission, in the Middle Persian language the *patvand*, of the religious tradition, has a general character inasmuch as all religions have been forced to face it, and the results which we can now survey in various parts of the world, thanks to modern studies in widely different religions, show the extraordinary diversity of detail under a similar general form to which the various living and extinct religions have come or came in their solutions of this problem. This tradition, the *patvand*, is the means by which the formation of an authoritative canon of writings is attained, whereon philosophical conclusions can be based, and the ritual and the customary religious law and the accepted ethics can be founded. One aspect only of this wide problem is my purpose here, and that is to see how the Zoroastrian writers of the ninth century A.D. viewed the transmission of their religious traditions as contained in their authoritative works.

I have chosen the word *patvand* to express this problem from the passage in the Dāstān ī Mēnok ī xrat 26. 12:

čegōn hač-ič ham patvand ī avēšān As is made known from precisely
pēšēnūkān ī vitartak paīdāk the whole tradition of the men
of former times who are now
dead.

The corresponding Sanskrit text *yathā eteṣu samasteṣu āmnāyeṣu teṣām pūrvapurusaṇām ye parokṣibhūtāḥ prakṛtāḥ* has the word *āmnāya* 'tradition preserved by memory' for the Middle Persian *patvand*. Note, too, the verb *patvastan* in the sense of 'transmit, hand down' as in the Dēnkart (DkM 681. 21). In reference to the Avesta the author remarks: *ō amāk nē¹ patvast* 'it has not been handed down to us', and similarly in DkM 688. 4 *pat dastaβar ō amāk nē patvast* 'it has not been handed down to us by a teacher (dastūr)'.²

¹ 𐭪𐭥 for 𐭪𐭥 *nē*.

² In more general context with *patvand* 'lineage' we have in the colophons of the Dēnkart DkM 951. 7 and 11:

kē-šān patvand pat ērih ut vēhūh bē ō May their lineage be continued in

We shall find ourselves engaged in a hotly disputed question, and it will be well to begin with some general observations.

It is of course clear that continuity of tradition is felt to be all-important. If at any periods new beliefs arise, it is the custom to ascribe them more or less successfully to earlier teachers. In the Avesta we note this in the frequent colloquies which are recorded between Zoroaster and Ahura Mazdā. If the transmission has been purely oral or if the transmitters have little or no historic understanding, seeing nothing in sequence of time, then new doctrines can the more easily be introduced. There is also a danger to truth in the dogma that if at any particular period there are theories accepted as truth, then these theories must have been held by the source of truth, the founder of the particular religion. The holders of these theories in ascribing them to the founder are incapable of realizing that they are introducing anachronisms, however innocently.

In certain countries writing was so early known and in such general use that religious compositions could be handed down in books. It happens therefore, for example, that much of the old Egyptian religion and many of the Sumerian hymns and cosmogonical legends are now known, owing to the labours of archaeological investigators, even after the disappearance or suppression of those systems of belief. Or a religion may be so comparatively modern as to be born into centuries when countries have flourishing literatures. Even when the founder of a religion neglects to give written form to his teachings his disciples may do so. We may refer to the history of the growth of the Christian canon or the Islamic books. Manichaeism in the third century A.D. was in comparison with other religious teachers unusually aware of the importance of authentic scriptures. He had himself been sensitive to the influence of books and in his own words, as recorded by his disciples in the Kephalaia,¹ he was resolved that his own scrip-

sōkšans pērōzgar patvandīhet

nobility and goodness till the victorious Sōšans.

The Armenians employed another derivative of *band-*, the Iranian loan-word *auand* 'tradition', *auandem* 'I hand down', as *ast čsmartout'ean auandiçn* 'according to the truth of the traditions'; *auanden z-ousoumn mimeanç i beranoy*.

¹ The Coptic text is given by Schmidt and Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, 1933, pp. 41-2. Cf. also Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, ii. 4 ff.

tures should be unadulterated and above suspicion. He himself wrote and painted conscious of this purpose and encouraged his followers to feel his own love of books. A still more modern example can be found in the many *alwāh* 'tablets' of Bahā'ullāh.

When in the ninth century A.D. the Zoroastrians recorded their views of the transmission of their sacred teachings, it is fairly clear to us that they found themselves in a difficult position. Three powerful communities, the *Tarsākān*, Christians of the Perso-Syrian Churches, Nestorian and Jacobite, Manicheans with a community which had reached Africa on the west and China on the east, and Jews had long been known to them, and in the seventh century had come the Muslims. Each of the first three claimed an ancient and authentic body of writings of divine authority. The Muslims successfully made the same claim for their more recent book. How then did the Zoroastrian stand in respect of these claims? Here is the problem of his reaction to his religious environment.

Let us take first the vague incidental assertions of the Artāy Virāz nāmak, the Šahrīhā ī Ērān and the Bundahišn, noticing in each the failure to distinguish between the *apastāk* and the *zand*, the older texts and their commentary. The account of the Artāy Virāz nāmak is the following, i. 1-17:

1. *ētōn gōšēnd ku ēv-bār ahrav zartušt dēn patgrift andar gēhān rašāk bē kart*
2. *ku tāk bavandakīh (i) 300 sāl dēn andar apēčakīh ut martōm andar apēgumānīh būt hand*
3. *ut pas gižastak ganāk mēnōk i druvand gumān kartan i martōmān pat ēn dēn rād*
4. *ān gižastak alaksandar i hrōmāyīk muzrāyīk-mānišn viyāpānēnit i pat garān sizd ut nīpart ut dahīk ō ērān šahr āmat*
5. *ut-aš avē ērān dahyupāt ōžat*
6. *ut dar ut x'atāyīh višōft ut avērān kart*
7. *ut ēn dēn čēgōn hamāk apastāk ut zand apar gāv pōstīhā [i] vīrāstak ut pat āp i zarr nīpīštak*

Thus they relate: Once the righteous Zoroaster received the faith and made it current in the world and to the end of 300 years the faith was uncontaminated and men were free from doubt.

Afterwards the accursed Destructive spirit, holder of lies, to cause doubt of this faith among men deluded the accursed Alexander the Roman, who dwelt in Egypt who came with grievous mischief, strife, and trouble to Ērān šahr. He slew the ruler of Ērān and destroyed the Court and Sovereignty and laid it waste.

The faith of which the whole Avesta and Zand had been prepared on ox hides and written

- andar stahr* (i) *pāpakān pat diz* (i) *nīpist' mīhāt ēstāt* with liquid gold and had been placed in Istakhr of Pāpak in the House of Archives,
8. *anē patiyārak i vat-baxt i ahrāmōy i druwand i anāk-kartār alaksandar i hrōmāyik i muzrāyik-mānīšn apar āḡurt ut bē sōxt* Alexander the Roman, the ill-fortuned adversary, heretic and holder of lies, doer of evil, who dwelt in Egypt carried off and burnt.
9. *ut čand dastaḡarān ut dāta-ḡarān ut ērpatān ut mayuḡpatān ut dēn-burtārān ut aḡzārōman-dān ut dānākān i ērān šahr [rād] bē kušt* Many of the teachers, lawyers, herbads and mobads, the supporters of the faith, the rich and the wise of Ērān šahr he slew.
10. *ut masān ut katak-χ^oatāyān i ērān šahr ēvak apāk dīt kēn ut anāštīh ō miyān aḡkand* The great ones and governors of Ērān šahr fell into feud and strife one with another openly.
11. *ut χ^oat škast ō dōšax^o dvārast* He himself was broken and fled to the evil existence.
12. *ut pas hač ān martōmān (i) ērān šahr ēvak apāk dīt āsōḡ ut patkār būt* Thereafter the men of Ērān šahr one with another were causing destruction and strife.
13. *ut čēgōn-šān χ^oatāy ut dahyupat ut sardār ut dastaḡar i dēn ākās nē būt* Since they had no sovereign lord, chief, or teacher who knew the faith,
14. *ut pat čīš i yazdān gumān būt hand* and were doubtful in things relating to the yazds,
15. *ut vas advēnak kēš ut virravišn yudt-rastakīh ut gumānīh ut yudt-dāstastānīh andar gēhān bē ō paīdākīh āmat* many sorts of doctrine and belief, wrong custom, doubt, and false decisions appeared in the world,
16. *tāk ān kaḡ zāt hufravart anō-šak-ruvān āturpāt i mahraspandān kē patiš pat (pa)ssāxt² i pat dēn kart rōḡ (i) vitāxtak apar var rēxt* till there was born Āturpāt i Mahraspandān, of noble fravart and of immortal soul, who in the ordeal which he endured for the faith poured molten copper on his breast.
17. *čand dāstastān ut dātaḡarīh apāk yudt-kēšān ut yudt-virravišnān bē kart* He did much work of law and judging in strife with those of false doctrine and false belief.

¹ ܡܢܝܫܬܐ. The Aramaic QRYTA 'town' is found also in *Kārnāmāk Artaxšēr i Pāpakān*, ed. Antia, 12. 17 as ܡܢܝܫܬܐ referring to the *diz* of the Kirm (10. 8). The Dēnkart (DkM 405. 20, 22; 412. 5) has *diz i nīpišt*. Hence the equation ܡܢܝܫܬܐ = *diz* is assured. The word *nīpist* with ܡܢܝܫܬܐ can be justified as a dialectal (Persian) form of *nīpišt* with ܡܢܝܫܬܐ as Pahl. *frēstak* beside N.Pers. *firēšta*, but it is perhaps to trust the text too much.

² DkM 413. 5 *pat gōḡīšn i passāxt* 'by decision of the ordeal'.

18. *ut ēn dēn andar šaspišn¹ (i) martōmān andar gumān būt hand* The faith became doubted in the turmoil of men.

In the Greater Bundahišn 214. 8 ff. we find:

- pas andar χ^oatāyīh (i) dārāy i dārāyān alaksandar kaisar hač hrōm dvārast ō ērān šahr āmat dārāy šāh ōzat hamāk i χ^oatāyān ut mayūkmartān (ut) paīdākān (i) ērān šahr apaḡšēnūt vas marak ātaḡš aḡsārt dēn i māzdēsnaḡ zand stat ō hrōm frēstāt² apastāk sōxt ut ērān šahr pat 90 katak-χ^oatāy baxt* Thereafter in the reign of Dārāy i Dārāyān, the Caesar Alexander marched from Rome and invaded Ērān šahr. He slew king Dārāy, and destroyed all the rulers and priests and distinguished men of Ērān šahr. He quenched many fires. Of the 'faith' of the Mazdayasns the Zand he took and sent it to Rome, the Avesta he burnt, and he divided Ērān šahr among 90 rulers.

The Šahrihā i Ērān relates the story in connexion with the name of Samarkand, 2 ff.:

2. *pat kust i χ^oarāsān samarkand šahrīstān kāōs i kavātān bē parkand syāvaxš i kāōsān bē fražāmēnūt* In the region of the East, Kāōs son of Kavāt founded Samarkand and Syāvaxš son of Kāōs finished it.
3. *kai husrau i syāvaxšān ōḡ zāt ut-aš varčēvand ātaḡš (i) varhrān ōḡ nišāst* Kai Husrau son of Syāvaxš was born there and he established there the miracle-working Varhrān fire.
4. *pas zartušt dēn āḡurt hač framān (i) vištāsp šāh 1200 fragart pat dēn-dīpīrih³ pat taḡtakīhā* Thereafter Zoroaster brought the faith. By command of King Vištāsp he engraved and wrote

¹ *Šaspišn* occurs also in the GrBd 152. 10 f. *hamāk āp i zrēh i fraḡ^okart pat čandišn čandēt bē šaspēt* 'the whole water of the sea Frāḡ^okart is agitated and tossed'. N.Pers. *šasp*, *gušasp* 'leaping'. Manuščihr Epistle i. 4. 2 *bēšūt ut kāsūt ut šaspēnūt*. There is always a possibility that the words *vihēz* ܝܠܝܝܐ 'removing' and *nišēp* ܢܝܫܝܥ 'declivity' should be confused with ܝܠܝܝܐ *šasp*- in the spelling, but *šasp*- 'agitate' seems to suit here.

² Recall the legend of the 'Book of Farīdūn' in the *Fihrist* of Al-Nadīm (ed. Cairo, p. 18 ad calc.) on the authority of the *mōbad* ܡܡܒܕ (**āmād* = ܡܡܒܕ): the book is now with the King of Šīn, taken with the Persian treasures in the time of Yazdgird.

ان الكتاب عند ملك الصين حمل مع الذخائر الفارسية ايام يزدجرد والله اعلم

³ *dēn-dīpīrih* 'religious writing' is known to the writers in Arabic as in the *Fihrist* of Al-Nadīm, ed. Cairo, 19 ad calc. كتابة الدين ويسمى دين دفره يكتبون بها

(i) *zarrēn kand ut nipišt ut
pat ganj (i) ān ātaχš mihāt*

5. *ut pas gižastak skandar¹ sōxt ut
andar ō drayāp aβkand*

the 1,200 chapters in the Avestan
script on tablets of gold and put
it into the treasury of that fire.

Afterwards the accursed Alexander
burnt it and cast it into the sea.

Here then we find simply the destroying Alexander, with his late Roman and Byzantine name and title, and according to the Artāy Virāz nāmak a long period of false religions (*yudt-kēš*), till the time of the second Šāhpuhr, son of Ōhrmazd (309-79).

The Dēnkart (DkM 437. 18)² alludes to the Apastāk ut zand combined (*yomāy apastāk ut zand*) which Zāmāsp had learned from Zoroaster and had written on ox hides with gold (*pat gāv pōstiyānīhā ut zarr nipišt ēstāt*) kept in the *ganj* i *χ^oatāyān* 'treasury of the lords', whence, he stated by a natural inference, the *dahyupatān* 'princes' and *dastaβarān* 'priests' had procured copies (*vēš paččēn* 'many copies'); later came false opinions and false views (*yudt-dātaštānīh yudt-vēnišnīh*).

Alexander is again responsible for the loss of the old texts in DkM 679. 14 ff.:

*cēgōn paīdāk ku brēhēnūt avē i visp-
ākās dātār hač haro mārīk-ē srav
i ē brīnak bahr cēgōn hāt ut fragart
i andar naskīhā hač dēn-gukāsīh
ākāsīh hač yašt fravahr zartuhšt
čāšīšn andar ērān šahr 1000 sāl
āšnāk ut pas hač višōβīšn (i) mar
i duχ^oarrahač ēšm-kart alaksandar
mat hačīš būt i ētōn apāč nē vindāt
i pat dastaβar dāštan šāyast hē*

As it is made known the omniscient creator created from each word (i.e. of the Ahunavar) one division, the hāt and the fragart in the nasks according to knowledge of the witness of the faith and the teaching of Zoroaster, whose fravahr receives reverence. It was known in Ērān šahr 1,000 years. After the coming of the destruction wrought by the ill-fortuned Alexander, created of wrath, thereof such was not to be found that it could have been preserved through the teachers.

الوستاق 'the writing of the Dēn and it is called *dēn-diβīrīh* (so read) and in it they write the *Wastāq*'. Mas'ūdi, *Kitāb al-tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, 91 gives دین دبیره for the script of the *abastā* (Arabicized *abastāq*).

¹ 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭠 with 𐭠 *sw* for 𐭠 *s* as in GrBd 87. 15 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭠 *samarkand*. The word 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭠 in the following passage also represents *samarkand*. Markwart read *sōkandar* and, I think unnecessarily, supposed paronomasia with *sōxt*.

² The text is given in Appendix VI.

But beside these incidental allusions the Dēnkart contains two well-known detailed accounts.¹ The second has some claim to be considered a document of the time of Husrau I, or to be based on such an account. This was justly pointed out by Bartholomae.² It may therefore be held to contain an official version. Here, too, it will be necessary to discount the religious zeal which attempts to glorify the sacred text, the apastāk and the zand, by the ascription of antiquity and the luxury of treatment. A brief summary will suffice in this place. The first document relates that Vištāsp, patron of Zoroaster, caused the text to be recorded in a book (*nipēkēnitan*) and deposited the basic text (*bun*) in the *ganj* i 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭠³ and a copy in the *diz* i *nipišt* 'strong-place of writings'. Alexander, here as elsewhere associated with Rome and the Romans (*hrōmāyān*, from the Greek form *Ῥωμαῖος*), burnt the copy, but the basic text came into the hands of the Romans who translated it into the Greek (𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭠 read 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥𐭠 *yōnāyik*) language. Artaxšahr i Pāpakān (226-41 A.D.) brought back the scattered books to one place (*ham nipēk hač pargandakīh ō ēvak giyāk aβurt*) assisted by the ērpat Tansar. Copies were distributed (*paččēn passačakīhā frāχ^oēnitan*). Came the Tāčīks, and Āturpāt i Āturfarnbay i Farraχ^ozātān *hudēnān pēšōpād* recovered once more the scattered copies. Two others of these *hudēnān pēšōpād* Zartuhšt i Āturfarnbayān and Āturpāt i Aλmētān, who uses the pronoun 𐭠𐭣𐭠 *az* 'I' in the Dēnkart (DkM 406. 20), worked to save the faith.

¹ DkM 405. 13-407. 3 and DkM 411. 11-413. 12 given in Appendix VII. See Haug, *Essay on Pahlavi*, 145 ff.; Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. xxx ff.; West, SBE 37, introduction xxx ff. and 412 ff.; Nau, RHR 1927, 149 ff.

² *Zur Kenntnis der mittelliranischen Mundarten*, iii (1920), 9 note 2 *im bay* 'this bay' in allusion to Husrau implying that he still lived. In DkM 454. 16 we should read *im χ^oāpar bay anōšak-jāntar šāh i šāhān* 'this beneficent king, whose life be yet more immortal, king of kings'. The word *anōšak-jān* is used as an expression of good wishes for a living man in contrast to the *anōšak-ruvān* of one who has died. Cf. the phrase *tan druvist ut jān anōšak* 'sound in body and long to live' in the *Abvēnak i nāmak-nipēšīsmīh* 33 (ed. Zaehner, BSOS ix. 96), and the note above, p. 116.

³ Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr*, p. 108, identifies this *ganj* 'treasury' with *Ganjak* the older *Čēs*, Arabic *الخير*, and would see a form *fičikān* in the Pahlavi variants of DkM 405. 19; 406. 1; 406. 9; 412. 4; 412. 22; 649. 19. If this is right, the legend is subsequent to the transference of geographical names to the west. [Read *šasapīkān*: see Addenda.]

The second document has more detail. Vištāsp is named, but it is Dārāy son of Dārāy, a figure who belongs to the Alexander legend, who has two copies written and safely deposited. Valaxš the Aškanian (*valaxš i ašakānān*) rescued the teaching (*āmōk*) from the ruin wrought by Alexander and the Romans (*vizand ut āšoftkārih i Alaksandar ut advār ut rōp i hrōmāyān*), all that, written down, had been scattered in Erān šahr including what had survived in the land, by oral transmission through the dastūrs (*tāk¹ ēē uzvān-aβspārišnik pat dastaβar mānd ēstāt andar šahr*).

Artaxšahr i Pāpakān by the help of Tansar recovered the scattered teachings (*āmōk i pargandak*) and brought them to the Dar, the Royal Court. Šāhpuhr i Artaxšahrān (A.D. 241–72) recovered the books scattered in India and Rome and restored them to the Avesta (*apāk apastāk apāč handāxt*) and put a copy in the *ganj i 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌*. Šāhpuhr i Ōhrmazdān (A.D. 309–79) checked the *yudt-ristakih* 'non-conformity' of his time assisted by Āturpāt i Mahraspandān and prohibited the *aydēnik* 'the man of evil religion'. Husrau i Kavātān (A.D. 531–78), called *im bay* 'His present Majesty', opposed *ahramōyih* 'heresy'.

The first parts of these accounts are evidently legendary. How it stands in regard to Valaxš and Artaxšahr is not clear. After each period of disturbance the kings occupy themselves with the same task of recovery. The indefiniteness of the concept of the *Apastāk ut zand* leaves it uncertain whether these two kings or at least Artaxšahr reorganized the Zoroastrian church with books and teachings or whether they reorganized the priestly class, and the ascription of the redaction of books may belong here also as for Dārāy to a priestly legend. The author of the Tansar-nāma, assigned to the time of Husrau I, according to the editor Mojtaba Minovi² between A.D. 557 and 570, assumed a complete loss of books and even of legends between Alexander and Ardašīr. The text in Minovi's edition, p. 11 (= ed. Darmesteter, in the tirage à part p. 81), reads:

¹ *tāk* 'up to and inclusive of'. Cf. *Kārnamak* 17. 21 *hač 7 frazand i mihrak bē man tāk an kas nē mānd ēstēt* 'of the seven children of Mihrak save me, no one else has survived'; Dāt. Mēnōk i xrat 62. 20 *tāk han muy ut draxt ut urvar* 'all the others, palm-tree, tree, and plant'. See also DkM 438. 17; 434. 21, 22; GrBd 150. 7; 209. 12; 212. 1.

² Tansar's *Epistle to Goshmasp*, 1932.

mīdānē ki Iskandar az kitāb i dīn i mā duvāzdah hazār pūst i gāv bi-sūxt bi-Istaxr

si-yakī az ān dar dilhā mānda būd va ān nīz jumla qišas va ahādīθ va šarā'i va aḥkām nadānastand tā ān qišas va ahādīθ nīz az fasād i mardum i rūzgār va ḡahāb i mulk va hīrš bar bad'at va tamvīhāt va tam' i faxr az yād i xalā'iq čunān furū šud ki az šidq i ān alif-i namānd

You know that of our book of the faith Alexander burnt up 12,000 ox hides in Istakhr.

One-third of those chapters remained in their heart, but all that was legends and traditions; they did not know the laws and decisions; until those tales and traditions also passed from folk's memory through the decadence of the men of that time, the loss of the kingdom, and the craving for novelty and falsifications and prideful desire; so far it went that not a tittle of righteousness (= *rta*, *aša*) remained.

But can this be a genuine tradition—we notice, as in the first Dēnkart document, no mention of Valaxš—of thought in the time of Husrau? Or is it rhetorical over-emphasis? We may assume if we wish that the Zoroastrians had some reason to remember Valaxš and that they later attributed to him the activities which suited his times according to their own view.

It seems clear that the Zoroastrian priests were favoured, if not exclusively, by the early Sasanian kings. But it will be remembered that Mānī had some favour from the first Šāhpuhr. Ardašīr clearly would have come to an agreement with the various estates after the overthrow of Ardavān. The Tansar-nāma offers a traditional view of his activities. It is also clear from the Dēnkart that the time of Husrau I was considered of great importance for the Zoroastrian priests when heresy, that is, in chief, Mazdak, the *ahramōyān ahramōy* (DkM 653. 11), had been overcome. We shall meet the *mayupatān mayupat* of Husrau below.

Indian and Greek books¹ were added to the *Apastāk* in the time of Šāhpuhr I according to the Dēnkart. It is somewhat difficult to believe that Aristotle's philosophy had received a Persian dress so early. For Syriac, almost certainly the intermediary between Greek and Persian, as it was later between Greek and Arabic, the earliest translations of Aristotle's philosophy were made in the fifth century in the School of the Persians in Edessa and particularly

¹ The Dēnkart references are given above, p. 85.

by Sargīs of Rīš-‘ainā later, who died A.D. 536. But translations of Greek books certainly existed in Middle Persian in the later Sasanian period. We shall assume that these Middle Persian texts were incorporated, some time before the composition of the Dēnkart, whose author clearly, as we have seen, had known something of Greek philosophy, with the religious texts called *Apastāk* in the Middle Persian, not the Avestan, language. It will also be remembered that the Dēnkart in a summary of the Varštmansr nask, fragart 16, refers to Mānē,¹ and it is possible that Mazdak,² the *ahramōyān ahramōy*, was named in the *Apastāk* known to the Dēnkart, if that passage is taken from a lost nask of the Dēn.

Of a fairly abundant secular literature in the Middle Persian or Parthian languages we have some knowledge: tales such as Vis and Rāmīn, Husrau and the Page, the Book of Kings (*χ^vatāy-nāmak*), the *Čatrang-nāmak*, the Alexander legend, and many epic tales,³ the official records as DkM 412. 11 *šahrihā aβyātkār*, GrBd 80. 1 *aβyātkārihā* (<ī) *šahrihā*.

A phrase of some interest *uzvān-aβspārišnīk* occurred above in DkM 412. 9 *tāk čē uzvān-aβspārišnīk pat dastaβar mānd ēstāt* ‘including what had survived by oral transmission through the dastūrs’. Herein lies the explanation of the serenity with which the Zoroastrian could view repeated scatterings (*pargandakih*) of his sacred texts. It will repay closer examination.

The memorizing of a sacred text was considered a matter of importance. The trained memory is one of the necessary qualities for a good *dastaβar*.⁴ The treatise *Panč hēm ī asrōnān* ‘the five virtues of the priests’ (Pahlavi Texts, 129 ff.) gives the following list:

<i>ān 5 hēm</i>	These are the five virtues:
<i>fratom avināsih</i>	first incorruptibility,
<i>diitkar vičn-kartārih ī mēnišnān ut</i>	second niceness in thoughts, words,
<i>gōβišnān ut kunišnān</i>	and deeds,
<i>sitiikar dastaβar-dārih čēgōn ān ī rat</i>	third to hold as a <i>dastaβar</i> him

¹ DkM 857. 18 = SBE 37. 278.

² DkM 653. 13 = SBE 47. 88.

³ See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 410 ff., and ‘Om den historiske romanlitteratur paa Pehlevi’ in *Studier tilegnede Frants Buhl*, 1925.

⁴ The physician, too, who is *varm-nipēk*, has his books by heart, is commended in DkM 161. 9.

ī dānāktar ī rāst-gōβišntar kē dēn-ākāsihā āmōχtēt ut rāstihā āmōčēt

čahārom yazišn ī yazdān rāst-vāčakihā [vāčihā] varm-naskihā pat nīrang yaštān

pančom rōčān šapān šnāyišnīhā andar χ^vēškārih ēstātan apāk χ^vēš hamēstār kōχšišn kartan zi-vandak dranād hač āstavānih ī dēn bē nē vaštān ut pat χ^vēškārih tuxšāk būtan¹

who is a most wise guide speaking truthfully, who teaches according to the knowledge of the faith and truly,

fourth, worship of the yazdān with true words, with memorizing of the nasks, to worship according to the ritual,

fifth, to be steadfast in his duty to propitiate day and night, to contend with his own opponents, not to turn throughout life from the confession of the faith, and to be zealous in his own work.

The ideal to be attained was a complete memorizing of the whole *Apastāk* and *Zand*. Manuščihr, in his first epistle to the people of Sīrakān (i. 4. 11), refers to the *zartuhštrōktom* (Av. *zaraθuštrōtama*-), the highest of the *dastaβars*, who was *hamāk apastāk ut zand varm* ‘one who had memorized the whole *Apastāk* and *Zand*’. The same ideal is mentioned in DkM 588. 11 *hač hamāk apastāk apāk zand varm*. Of the sisters of Artāy Virāz, devout Zoroastrians (AVn 2. 3), it is said *ut-šān dēn varm ut yašt kart ēstāt* ‘they had memorized the Dēn and had performed the yašt’. The good physician of the soul is described in DkM 160. 15 ff.:

ruvān bižišk zartuhštrōktom dēn dastaβar ku apēčak hēm ut āsnūtak xrat ut dēn vāspuhrahān ut yazdān mēnūtārih dāštār ut mēnōk vēnišn varm apastāk ut vičūtār zand ut ākās dēn ut agumān rastak

Physician of the soul, the Zartušt-rōktom, a teacher of the faith, of pure virtue and noble intelligence, regulating the faith, devoting thought to the yazdān, seeing the invisible, who has memorized the Avesta, and studied the *Zand*, familiar with the faith, and in conduct without doubt.

Similarly in the Pahlavi Rivāyat p. 50, l. 11 *kē-š gāsān nē varm kart* ‘who has not memorized the *gāthās*’, and p. 43, l. 11 *zand varm* ‘knowing the *zand* by heart’, DkM 720. 13–14 *gāsān ut hadōχt . . . varm kartan* ‘to memorize the *gāthās* and the *hadōχt*’.² The word

¹ So in the Pāzand list of virtues (Antia, *Pāzand Texts*, 335) **varm-nask rāst-aβastā*.

² DkM 571. 7 f. *pat ērmēnišnīh χ^vēš mēnišn pat ēn varm kart*.

varm itself was explained¹ as the N.Pers. *barm* بزم 'memory', and this has been adopted elsewhere.²

An interesting and admirable illustration of the training of priests and others can be usefully quoted here from the pleasant tale of *Husrau ut Rētak*. In §§ 8–10 the Page, *Khvaš-ārzuḡ*,³ gives an account of his study in the Frahangastān:

*pat hangām ō frahangastān dāt hom ut-am pat frahang kartan saxt ōštāft būt hom ut-am yašt ut hadōxt ut bayān ut vidēvdāt ērpatihā varm giyāk giyāk zand nigōxšūt ēštāt ut-am dipīrīh ōgōn ku huwap-nipēk ut ray-nipēk bārīk-dānišn kāmāk-kār *hudast⁵ frazānak hačš hom*

In due time I was given to the School and in my study I was very diligent. I memorized the Yašt, the Haḏōxt, the Bayān, and the Vidēvdāt like a herbad and passage by passage heard the Zand. My scribal ability was such that I am a good writer, and swift writer, with keen understanding, successful, skilful, and learned.

Note, too, Manuščihr's approving epithets of the dastaβars in the Dātastān i dēnik Intro. § 8:

mayūk martān i ōsmart-mansr i dranjenūt-zand i uskār-dātastān

Magians who recited the manthra, memorized the Zand, and studied theories.

This *dranjenūtān* 'to memorize' is explained by *varm kartan* and renders also the Av. *drang-* 'to learn by heart'.

Next consider another legend of the loss and recovery of the

sacred text in the treatise *Aβdāh ut sahiḡih i sagastān* 9–15 in Jamasp-Asana's Pahlavi Texts:¹

ēvak ēn ku vištāsp šāh dēn pat var i frazdān² kart raβākīh fratom pat sagastān ut pas pat apārīk šahrihā

One thing is this that King Vištāsp spread the faith at Lake Frazdān first in Sagastān and thereafter in other lands.

vištāsp šāh pat hampursagīh i zartušt ut sēn i ahum-st<ut>ān i bustīk čēgōn-aš hāvištān i zartušt fratom pat sar <i> hāvištān <i> avē būt hand

King Vištāsp, by conference with Zoroaster and Sēn son of Ahumstut, of Bust, since they were his, Zoroaster's, first disciples, were at the head of his disciples.

**andar sagastān *ān čāšt raβāk dāstan rād 50 ut 50 pat dūtak <i> vēhān frāč raft*

To maintain the teaching in Sagastān a hundred in the families of the nobles went forth.

*nask-ē i bayān-ič x^oānēnd čēgōn sēn ut burzmihr i zartuštān pat vīrāstakīh i ān būt *āšnāk³*

There was one nask known which they call also Bayān, in whose preparation Sēn and Burzmihr son of Zartušt were active.

kaδ gižastak alaksandar i hrōmāy ō ērān šahr mat avēšān kē pat brēh⁴ i moymartān raft grift ōžat mart ut rētak ē-čand ō sagastān āmat hand

When the accursed Alexander the Roman came to Ērān šahr, he took, and slew those who walked on the path of the magians. Some men and boys came to Sagastān.

*nask-ē būt <apāk> žanān būt apurnāyak-ē nask-ē i bayān-ič *x^oānēnd varm kart ēštāt pat-ič ān *brēh dēn andar sagastān apāč gašt ut ārāst ut vīrāst navak navak bē pat sagastān ēnyā apārīk giyāk nē varm*

The one nask existed. With the women was a young child who had memorized the nask which they called also Bayān. In this way the faith returned to Sagastān. He arranged and ordered it afresh, but except in Sagastān, there was no memory of it elsewhere.

Here, too, by a chance of memory alone the text survives. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ii. 125 f. (in the tenth century; he died A.D. 956),

¹ Herzfeld offered a translation in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 2. 94, but no transliteration. The present attempt to interpret it differs to some extent.

² Frahang i oīm 4 g āp i frazdān pat sagastān, K 20, 80 r 4.

³ āšnāk at end of clause also in DkM 679. 18; *ēvar* is also so used.

⁴ GrBd 31. 9 *brēh* is used for *brahm* 'garment, manner': Zātspram i. 17 (= K 35, 234 v 17) *pat ān ristak ut brahm* 'in that way and manner'. *brēh* is likely to be mis-written *brēh*. Pāzand SGV 11. 83 *rāh u rastaa* is ambiguous but probably means *brēh*. Cf. also Zachner, BSOS ix. 311.

¹ JRAS, 1934, 511.

² So by Messina, *Ayātkār i Žāmāspīk* (1939), p. 147.

³ On the name, N.Pers. خوش آرزو *x^oāš-ārzu*, see BSOS ix. 232 f.

⁴ In the *Frahang i Pahlavīk* i. 3 *brēh* is explained by *bayān* 'gods, bays'. The Aramaic has been explained as from Aramaic 'lh' 'god'. Hence here, and in the *Aβdāh ut sahiḡih i sagastān* (Pahlavi Texts, pp. 25–6, quoted below, p.) § 12 *brēh* and § 15 *brēh*, we shall see *bayān* the title of the Nask called in DkM 692. 15 *brēh*, *bayān yast* (West, SBE 37. 34, using the manuscripts, has, probably correctly, *yašt*), the nask which contained the yašts to the individual bays, divinities.

⁵ **hudast* (?) *brēh* (assuming interpolated conjunct wāw, as in *samarkand*; the conjunct *h* for *h* is common, GrBd 95. 6; 119. 1 and elsewhere), explaining by Mid.Parth. *dast* 'capable', Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Manich.* iii. 54, from the base O.Iran. *danh-* Skt. *damś-*, which is preserved also in *dastaβar* and Khotanese *dašta-* 'skilful'.

tells us that a Zoroastrian in Sagastān was known who had recited the whole Avesta by heart but this was rare: *وقد كانوا يقولون ان رجلا منهم بسجستان بعد الثلاثية كان يستظهر بحفظ هذا الكتاب على الكمال*

It is clear that no single account of the transmission of the texts had been uniformly adopted by the ninth century A.D.

The opinion of the author of the Tansar-nāma which we quoted above was not favourable (perhaps biased by his reforming zeal) to memory as a means of preserving religious or historical truth. But there remains a passage of the Dēnkart, to which Mr. R. C. Zaehner drew my attention, of great interest as an indication of the attitude towards memory and books which was presumably held also by the authors of the Dēnkart. A Christian (*tarsāk*)

whose name was *بخت-م'ل'* *Bōxt-m'l'*¹ asked a number of questions of very various kinds. In DkM 455. 10 ff. we then have from among them the following:

yazd ēn dēn čē rād pat ēvāč-ē i anāšnāk i nihuftak i apastāk nām guft ut avē rād pat nipištak nē bavandak hangārt bē pat gōβišn varm kartan framūt

Why did God proclaim this faith in the unknown mysterious language called the Avestan, and for it did not excogitate a complete written text, but commanded to memorize it by oral tradition?

The reply is given later (DkM 459. 8 ff.):

ēn mānsr ut dēn apastāk harvisp-ākāsīh čēgōn vēh mēnōkān nazd-brahmihātar pat hamāk āvāč i gēhānīkān ōgōn vitimāsik i vitart hač harv ayāpakīh i martōmān ut zand pat adōvēnak-ē guft ēstēt pat miyān i gēhān raβāktar andar gēhān āšnāktar χ^vat apastāk [apa-

These manthras and the Avesta of the faith are all knowledge, so that, being near to the good invisible beings, in any language of beings of this world they are astonishing and beyond the comprehension of men. He proclaimed the Zand as a substitute,

¹ I am not sure of the reading. One might have *Bōxt-mārī* with the Aramaic *mār-i* 'my lord'. In the Manichean texts we find the two spellings *m'ry* and *mry* corresponding to the Syriac *mry*. But we could also read *Bōxt-mahray* assuming the use here of *mahr-* (later *mār-*) 'word, manthra' which is known in *ܡܠܟܐ mārīk*, *mārīk* 'word' and Mid.Parth. *m'rygr* **mārēgar*, Sogd. *m'rkr*- 'sorcerer', Armenian *margarē* 'prophet'. We should assume a suffix *-ay* of uncertain origin. Used by a Christian this *mahr-* would mean 'gospel'.

stāk] vazurk daṣṣak hast pat āburt i zartuhšt hač ōhrmazd ēč drōy ut halakīh ut dēvān-kāmākīh patiš nē hamāk rāst mas-dāta-stānīhā ut yazdān šnāyēnūtārīh guft ēstēt

more current in the world and better known in the world. The Avesta itself is a great marvel brought by Zoroaster from Ōhrmazd. Therein is no falsehood nor folly nor pleasure for demons. It is wholly true, expressing great opinions proclaimed for the propitiation of the yazdān.

andar ēč āvāč i družān nē dāšt ēstēt kas-ič nē vašt ut nē dēvān ēč admēt aβiš nē dārēnd ut harv čēgōn gōβīhēt druž hačīš sizdīkīh ut yazdān patiš urvāhmanīh bavēt

Within it is contained no utterance of the druž. It has perverted no one. No demons have hope therein. From whatever is said the druž have grief and the yazdān therein rejoice.

ut pat-ič rāstīhā ō hamāk kustak niyāzakīhā ut hāvand āyīšnīh i apastāk

By the equal penetration of the Avesta, by truth to every part as needed,

*ut miyānak [i] gēhān uzvānīk āšnākīhā frēstišnīh-ič i zand pur-bōžīšn paidāk andar katām-ič-ē ut ēn dēn mānsr ut hamāk i uzvānīk nipištān ōgōn framūt ō *bunīk nipištak nūn-ič frahīst pat-ič nipekīhā pāt ēstēt čēgōn andar ākāsān paidāk bē varm kartan sūt vas ut-aš *sūtakīh pat izīšn stāyīšn ākāsēnišn i avē ramān evak tāk-aš dānast i čīšān hačīš ōh-ič ōgōn zufrīhā saχ^vān ut adōvēn rāstīhā ut avašt-rangīhā*

and also by the sending of the Zand into the midst of the world, to be known orally, a full means of salvation is exhibited in both. These manthras of the faith and all the oral matter he ordered to write in a basic text. Now indeed for the most part it is preserved in actual books as is known among those acquainted with the facts. But to memorize is a great profit. Its profitableness is in the giving of knowledge of the worship and praise to the people, the one thing so that it has known whence things arise. In such a way it was possible to transmit profound words and true customs unperturbed, such as are the basic utterances of decisions and blessings, far beyond the written form. And for many other reasons also it is reasonable to consider the living spoken word more important than the written.

*[i] aβspārtan šāyast i dātaštān ut āfrīn bun-gōβīšnīh frēh hač nipešīšnīk vasihā ut pat-ič apārīk vas čīm zīvandak gōβīšnīk saχ^van hač ān i pat *nipišt mātakvartar hangārtan čīmīk*

Hence we see that it was admitted that the Zand was more widely known than the original Avestan text. Appeal is made to

the wonderful character of it: it was *vitimāsik* 'astonishing'. A basic text is claimed (*bunīk nipištak*) but was clearly not in use. The questions are asked in the ninth century, long, therefore, after the Sasanian period had ended. The wide dissemination of copies noted in DkM 406. 9 (*paččen passačakihā frāx'enītan*) ascribed to Artaxšahr ī Pāpakān is here hardly supported. The charge that the Avestan language was unknown (*anāšnāk*) is, however, evidently an exaggeration.¹ But notice especially the justification: 'memorizing is a source of great profit' (460. 2 *varm kartan sūt vas*).² The oral tradition (*uzvānik*) is quite clearly held in higher esteem than the written.

The custom of memorizing the Avesta has continued. In 1932 I visited Yazd and in the *Ātaš-kada* the dastūr informed me that he had spent many years learning the text by heart and he seemed not to read the manuscript which he possessed with any facility, but could recite Avestan passages fluently.

The state of Zoroastrian knowledge indicated for the ninth century by the Dēnkart passage just quoted is made known to us also in the sixth century in the Syriac Christian writers. So in the life of the converted Magian Jesus Sabran written about 630, according to the interpretation of P. de Menasce (BSOS ix. 587 note 2), he asked to be taught orally 'parce qu'il était accoutumé à recevoir de bouche la "psalmodie" du magisme, car l'enseignement pernicieux de Zardušt n'est pas écrit en signes intelligibles'.³ The studies of François Nau in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1927, and *Journal Asiatique*, 1927,⁴ are well known and may be referred to for further details from the Syriac books. In the fourth century, c. A.D. 377, Basilios had stated that the Magians had no books, nor masters of dogma, but that the sons learnt from the fathers (Nau quoting Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 32. 258 =

¹ Mas'ūdī in his *Kitāb al-tanbīh wa 'l-išrāf*, ed. de Goeje, 91. 12, has a similar statement: No one is now known who understands the meaning of this language, لا يعلم احد اليوم يعرف معنى تلك اللغة.

² *varm* occurs also K 20, 80 r 12, 14, 16 in the Frahang ī oīm.

³ Menasce conjectures an allusion to an 'Arsacid Avesta', but the Dēnkart shows that the *dēn-dipīrīh* of our present Avesta could be intended, or it is a commonplace allusion to the *Uzvārišn* system, such as we find in the passage translated by Vandenhoff, *Or. Christ.*, 1915, 237, from Išo'da2's commentary on Genesis.

⁴ Reviewed by Peeters, *Revue des études arméniennes*, vii (1929), 221.

Clemen, *Fontes historiae religionis persicae*, 86, οὕτε γὰρ βιβλία ἔστι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὕτε διδάσκαλοι δογματῶν).

If the Zoroastrians highly honoured and cultivated the use of memory and expected the highest priests to know the whole Apastāk and Zand by heart, they quite naturally reprobated forgetfulness. Hence we have in the Dāstān ī Mēnōk ī xrat (58. 7) a list of priestly faults:

*āhōk ī asrōnān ahrāmōyih ut āzava-
rīh ut framōšūtārīh ut sūtakīh ut
χ^oartak-nikirišnīh ut dušvirra-
višnīh ī pat dēn*

Faults of the priests are heresy, avarice, forgetfulness, laziness, contempt, and disbelief in the faith.

Forgetfulness is still more severely reprimanded in the well-known passage of the *Šad-dar naθr* (ed. Dhabhar, p. 24) in chapter 28:

*in ki čūn avastā biy-āmūzand činān
bāyad ki bi-durust u rāst āmūzand
va bi-āhistagī va ān ki biy-āmūxta
bāšand paivasta mibāyad χ^oāndan
va yād midāstan. čī dar dēn bi-
paidā 'st ki īzad mīfarmāyad ki
har kasī ki avastā az yād kunad
ravān i ū az bihišt čandān dūr
kunam ki pahanāy i zamīn ast va
dar zand avastā āvurda ast ki dar
rūzgār i pīšin kasī ki avastā biy-ā-
mūxta būdi va az yād bāz kardī
tā āngāhī ki dīgar bār zi bar kardī
ūrā nān činānči bi-sagān dihand
dādandī va jāy i dīgar χ^oānda am
ki nān sar i nīza bad-ū dādandī*

This that when they learn the Avesta they must learn it soundly and correctly and carefully, and what they have learned they must recite continually and keep in mind, since it is made known in the faith that whoever forgets the Avesta, I will remove his soul as far from paradise as is the width of the earth. In the Zand-Avesta it is related that in former times, the person who had learned the Avesta and forgotten it, till the time that he had memorized it again, they gave bread to him as they give it to dogs. In another place I have read, that they gave him bread on the tip of a spear.

The threat of this passage comes from the Avesta Yasna 19. 7 referring to the Ahunavar:

*yasča mē aētahmī anhvō yač astvaiti
spitama zaraθuštra
bayqm ahumahe vairyeye drənjayō
aparaodayete
yač vā naēməm yač vā θrišum
yač vā čaθrušum yač vā pantanhum*

And who, for me, in this material world, O Spitāma Zoroaster, memorizing a part of the Ahunavar forgets it whether half or third or fourth or fifth part,

evidence for the existence of the Avestan script in the ninth century? I think it is, but I cannot disguise from myself that a sceptic may urge that a later scribe has replaced words and phrases originally written in Pahlavi script, a form in which many other Avestan words do appear there, and that the case with the Dēnkart may be like that of the Bundahišn, where the earlier manuscript of the shorter recension K 20 abounds in Pāzand spellings, particularly in the botanical chapter, where the later manuscripts of the longer recension have correct Pahlavi spellings. We should have to say the same of the other Pahlavi texts like the Dātaštān ī dēnik and the Mātiyān ī hazār dātaštān, where occasional words are found in Avestan script.

If we pass over K 7 a of which the date 1258 or 1278 (according as one adds or omits the 20 years 631–51 in the reckoning of Yazdgird) is not beyond dispute,¹ the oldest Avestan manuscript is the Yasna, J 2 in the Bodleian, dated 26 Jan. 1323, and the next K 5 in Copenhagen dated 17 Nov. 1323. Other excellent manuscripts, much later, are M f 2 dated 29 May 1618 and M f 1 dated 18 May 1741. But it is possible to trace back the existence of an Avestan codex to about A.D. 1020, if the colophons can be trusted. This is the manuscript of Māhvindāt, of which the existence seemed to Geldner, the scholar best acquainted with Avestan MSS., to be undeniable. But in its turn it is almost certainly a copy, though that cannot be definitely established. We may say then without undue risk that the extant evidence of the Avestan MSS. and their colophons permits us to posit the date about A.D. 1000 for a text of the Avesta in the Avestan script. Before that it may have existed some centuries but the manuscript evidence fails us at that point. Between A.D. 651, the date of the death of the third Yazdgird, and A.D. 1000 lie three and a half centuries. Midway in that period, in the ninth century, there was considerable literary activity among Zoroastrians. We have no manuscript of that date, but it is most likely that they did possess the Avestan text almost identical with that known to us in the manuscripts of

mānhō.; 789. 1 yeāhe.hātām.; 875. 15 f. taš.mazda.tava xšātrēm. Pāzand words also occur 660. 4 vōiyan.; 165. 23 f. names of diseases; 793. 19 uzairin uzērin.ratih. and others.

¹ Geldner, *Avesta*, prolegomena xxxviii, gives the evidence.

A.D. 1323 in the Avestan script. We recall, too, that Īšō'da2 of Marw towards the end of the ninth century wrote of 'the book called 'bštḡ', the *Aḡastāy*,¹ in which we may perhaps see a reference to the Avesta in the Avestan language. It can be shown that they knew the system of pronunciation of our Avestan MSS., as when the Dēnkart writes Avestan words in the consonantal system of Pahlavi script in forms which establish the existence of a text similar to ours. We may note especially the epenthesis in such spellings as DkM 787. 8; 822. 9 *yabā ahūk* *vairyōk* (remembering of course that we have only copies).

For the other terminus an argument *e silentio* is the absence of Avestan text in the manuscript fragments of Turkestan where, however, only one piece of Zoroastrian Pahlavi script was found² and the absence of Avestan is reasonable. Note, too, that our extant Pahlavi commentaries on the Vidēvdāt are subsequent to Mazdak who was executed in A.D. 528–9, since he is named as the arch-heretic in Vid. 4. 49 *Mazdak ī Bāmdātān*. A yet later date is required also by the references to Vēh-šāpuhr,³ the chief Mōbad of Husrau I (531–78) several times in the Vidēvdāt commentary, as in 3. 49 (= ed. Jamasp, p. 98, l. 5).

It seems that the Zoroastrians were considered by the Muslims to have no claim to be called a 'People of the Book'. Was the Avesta in Avestan script in the seventh century too recently published, even in a limited⁴ circle, to be known to foreigners? The external evidence would not prevent us admitting the existence of a written text of the Avesta in Avestan script at a date about the middle of the sixth century A.D.; not at any rate later than

¹ Quoted by Nau from his *Commentary of St. Matthew*, ed. Cambridge, 1911, p. 32.

² Facsimile in BSOS viii, plate 3.

³ *بہسپور موبدان موبد ویزدجرد راس* and *بہسپور موبدان*. The reading of the name is made almost certain by the reference to him in the *Nihāyatu 'l-Irab* in the manuscript Qq 225 of the Cambridge University Library, fol. 166, ll. 8–9 *بہسپور موبدان موبد ویزدجرد راس* 'Bihsābūr the Mōbadān-mōbad and Yazdgird the chief of the secretaries', see also Browne's account of this manuscript in the JRAS 1900, 232. References to Vēh-šāpuhr are given by West, SBE v. 244 note, Pagliaro, *Riv. d. Stud. Orient.* x (1925), to which can be added Pahlavi Rivāyat p. 179, § 38 and p. 184, l. 1. In Syriac *byhšbwr* **beh-šābūr* is found as the name of a bishopric (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 55, note 2).

⁴ As the passage DkM 459. 8 ff. quoted above, p. 162, implies.

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 *asparn* followed by a statement of its worth. It is so the Frahang passage is to be understood: *asparənō* 'asparn' one drahm in worth'. In Vid. 5. 60 this is in fact what is given. Bartholomae s.v. *asparənō.mazah-* unfortunately has an incomplete quotation of the Pahlavi gloss. We have *nōiṭ asparənō.mazō* explained by *nē asparn-masāy čēgōn drahm-ē arž*¹ 'asparn which is worth one drahm'.

But the word occurs also in other contexts which Schwyzler did not notice in his paper. In the Dēnkart we have 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 *asparn* in 702. 17; 710. 12, 14, 18; 714. 3. In 702 we find the series *asparn ayāp anumay ayāp stōr ayāp vīrōk-mazag*² 'asparn or sheep or beast or man is worth', hence the same use as in Vid. 4. 48. But in 710 it is a matter of theft: lines 17 ff. *apar matan ī tōžišn ō 3 kas kē hač ēvak asparn <ē> ut hač ēvak anumay ē ut hač <ēvak> stōr-ē harv 3 pat ē-bār duxit ēstēt* 'On the coming of reparation to three men from one of whom an asparn has been stolen, from one man a sheep and from one man a beast, all three at one time'. Here clearly *asparn* in such a context is something worth a drahm and most probably an animal. Hence West, SBE 37. 50, was very likely on the right track in understanding a lamb or kid. Clearly there is no evidence that *asparənō* was a coin. The word does not therefore serve us in this present problem.

If we ascribe the Gāthās or parts of them to Zoroaster we shall assign them at least to about 600 B.C. and probably to an earlier time. During the period 600 B.C. to A.D. 600 accretions were always possible, depending upon the extent of the knowledge the priests had of the Avestan language.

The date of the first³ complete writing down of the Avesta may be about the middle of the sixth century A.D. For this a new alphabet was invented,⁴ the Avestan alphabet, out of the cursive forms

¹ 𐬀𐬎 for 𐬀𐬎 KSP = *arž*, to be preferred probably to the variant 𐬀𐬎 and which gives *drahm-ē* and 'so much as one drahm'.

² 𐬨𐬀𐬎 *mzg*, *maza* with *-k*, or *mzy*?

³ If an earlier text existed, even in parts, its relationship to the present text would be like that of Khotanese-Sanskrit to Indian Sanskrit, which is mentioned below. I doubt its existence but the negative is hard to prove.

⁴ In illustration one may refer to the other Zoroastrian experiment in the invention of an alphabet, of which H. Junker has given a specimen in *Ein Bruchstück der Āfrinaghān ī Gāhānbār*, 1932, from a Bombay manuscript.

of Pārsiy letters. It differed from earlier Iranian scripts in its use of vowel signs in each syllable. These signs were written on the line between consonants unlike the vocalic notation of Syriac and Hebrew. It is therefore in respect of the indication of vowels on a level with the Greek and Armenian alphabets.

I must insert here a document which has perhaps preserved a tradition of this edition of the Avesta. It occurs in a passage of Manuščih's first epistle to the people of Sīrakān (i. 4. 14-17):¹

14 *hač-ič čāstak ī rāst dastaβarān pat *vēh-gukāsih bažišn ēvarik ō hanjamanikān ī šahr šahr nimūt frahist mayūk-martān dāstastān-šnāsān ut kustak kustak *pat-šān χ²astūkēnitan *hanbaštak ī ham šahr andar harv 4 pāt-kōs² apar kart hēy*

Precisely according to the instructions of the true dastūrs, on good evidence, a certain text was published to the educated of each district, chiefly the magians who are expert in judgements, and, in each region to convince them, sealed, which was done in all four provinces of the country.

15 *ut-aš hangōšitak hač-ič ān ī anōšak-ruvān vēh-šāpuhr ī mayupatān mayupat ut anē-ē ōhrmazd³ mayupatān guft čāstak ī hačišān pas-ič kartak patiš nē vartēnitan gōβišn ī ān dastaβarih patiš nē akārēnitan*
16 *bē ān ī-šān pat ēvarih patgrift hač gōβišn ī apūrik dastaβarān pat apartar dāstān kartāk [ī] ut any ađvēnak gōβišnān nē vartēnitan dātik sahas*

An example of this is: from the instructions given by Vēh-šāpuhr of immortal soul the chief Mōbad, and also the other mōbads of Ōhrmazd, it was not deemed lawful afterwards to change what had been done nor to invalidate the statements⁴ of that body of dastūrs but what they had with assurance received to hold as more authoritative than the statements of other dastūrs, and not to change what had been done nor other statements.

17 *ōgōn būt čēgōn ān vēh-šāpuhr pat hanjaman ī anōšak-ruvān husrau ī šāhān-šāh ī kavātān 21-ān bažišnīhā ōgōn nimūt ku ōgōn mēnišn patiš būt čēgōn vičirēnūt ut-šān pas ān and vičir ī avē ōgōn mēnišn patiš ham-dāstastān būt hand*

It was so that Vēh-šāpuhr in the council of Husrau the king of kings son of Kavāt of immortal soul, published the twenty-one divisions, so that it was agreed to, as it had been decreed. Afterwards they assented to so many decrees of his.

¹ West attempted a translation in SBE xviii. 297. The allusion is somewhat obscure.

² The four *pāt-kōs* in Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 366.

³ Cf. DkM 103. 17. Above in this epistle § 10 *ōhrmazd mayupatān*, § 11 *ōhrmazd mayupatīh*.

⁴ *gōβišn* is the oral tradition.

In the 21-ān *bažišnāh* دستور اویسیز we may perhaps see the twenty-one 'bažišn bahr' called *nask*¹ of the Dēnkart.¹ The verb *nimūt* seems here to mean 'make known' or 'publish'. Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbih*, ed. de Goeje, 91: سورة إحدى وعشرون سورة وعدد سورة إحدى وعشرون سورة. كل سورة في مائتين من الاوراق. The oral tradition (*guft*, *gōḇišnān*) lies at the basis of these 'twenty-one divisions' to which general assent was given.

During the long period of oral transmission, for some parts of the Avesta more than a thousand years, unconscious but very serious changes had taken place in the pronunciation of the reciters who had memorized the texts. It proved impossible for the priests to escape the changes phonetic and dialectical which were taking place around them, and they could not recover a lost stage of pronunciation. Note for example a significant case: Old Iranian *θ*, whose existence is certain from the evidence of Iranian dialectology,² has survived to the present day only in one Iranian dialect Yāzgulāmī, where *miθmān* 'guest' is still heard, and has been newly developed in Eastern Balōčī where *p'īθ* 'father' is found (whence also comes *p'is*). The standard western dialects Pārsīy and Pahlavīy of Sasanian times were unaware of its existence in speech, though the trace of it is found in the orthography when we meet *p'lswny* in the inscriptions for what is *pahlom p'hlmw* in the books; or in *g's*, for O.Pers. *gāθu-*, in pronunciation *gāh*. It is clear therefore that the courtier-priests³ of the Sasanian period on whom in particular devolved the task of preserving and reciting the Avestan texts were either to pronounce artificially sounds that they never used in their own daily language—of which therefore they could never be sure—or they must replace old sounds by new at the risk of confusing words. This same *θ* is also useful if we test the pronunciation in Yazd at the present time. There it is pronounced not as a fricative but as a stop which may be aspirated or not (*t* or

¹ DkM 677. 19 f. *ut-aš ēt hand bažišn bahr 21 i x'ānīhēnd nask*. For the -ān of 21-ān, cf. GrBd 3. 6 *dōān mēnōk*, and Zātspram 34. 7 5-ān *hanbārtārān*.

² In the group *θy* from Indo-Iranian *-ty-* it had already become *š* in Old Persian, as in *hašīya-* 'true'.

³ Presumably speaking the dialectical Persian called *darī* in Arabic books. The *Fihrist* (ed. Cairo, p. 19) has وأما الدرية فقلعة مدن المدائن وبها كان يتكلم من بيا ب الملك.

t'). Here too I would add that the dastūr of Yazd, as I noticed in 1932, had difficulty with *ft*, since he had in his dialectal pronunciation of New Persian *goptan* and *daptar*, not *goftan* and *daftar*.

It will be interesting to note analogous cases of the existence of a learned or sacred language beside the language in daily use. We shall at once think of Latin, Sanskrit, and Chinese but other languages such as Coptic supply the same evidence.

It is still the custom in many parts of England to pronounce Latin in an Anglicized way in consonance with the value of the written form in English words. I am unable to consider the details of early Church schools—it is far outside my competence—nor to treat of the elaborate modifications which affected Latin on the continent of Europe. But it is easy to observe for oneself how the few Latin phrases such as *et cetera*, *bona fide*, *vice versa*, or proper names as *Julius Caesar* have become part of the English language with an English pronunciation, and it would be affectation to say *jūlius kaisar* or *uīke ɤersā* in ordinary conversation. But when this pronunciation is extended to the whole Latin language it becomes rather barbarous and many of us no doubt find *dominai* for *dominis*, *hūjās* for *hūius*, *sīza mōtūus est* intolerable. But here I wish merely to stress the fact that not only has English pronunciation prevailed over the language, completely changing it from the early Roman pronunciation, but this has happened even in defiance of a written text. If we are given *amēri* for the written *amāre*, it is in consonance with the usual southern English pronunciation of those vowels. Latin has been modified in this way not only in England but in each European country where the language has been used. The Hungarian pronounces Latin *ce-* as *tse-* and the modern Italian¹ as *tše-*, and the vowels according to their language.

It is well known that the same has happened to Sanskrit. In Khotan, where texts in good regular Sanskrit in Indian orthography have been found, we have also many texts in which the Khotanese pronunciation of Sanskrit is expressed in the written Sanskrit text, where for instance the voiced aspirates *bh dh gh* are no longer kept distinct from the unaspirated *b d g* (the distinction was absent in Khotanese), or *rāgnīye* is written, as no doubt it was pronounced, for Skt. *rājñiyai*; or efforts are made to express the sound of Sanskrit *ṛ* by writing *rre*, and similar cases. Here an old

¹ With a *kkent'* *annos* (with *k*) 'for a hundred years' only in Logudoro in Sardinia!

language foreign to the land has been completely changed in orthography. In Bali, the *Balidvīpa* of Sanskrit texts, a similar fate has befallen Sanskrit. There a living oral transmission has persisted beside the written word—but I will quote the words of M. Sylvain Lévi who visited Bali to investigate the Sanskrit texts in 1928. He wrote in *Balidvīpagraṇthāḥ*:¹ 'The reader must be reminded that the Balinese, in reading as well as in writing Sanskrit, makes no difference between short and long vowels, between sibilants, between aspirates and non-aspirates, between dentals and cerebrals, and they are accustomed to divide words, or rather groups of syllables, in their traditional way, with no respect to meaning, the text being of course a sealed letter to them.'²

The people of Bali are Indonesian and the phonematic system of their language differs greatly from the Indian. But in India, too, differences of pronunciation are to be noted. A friend of mine, a Brahman from Bengal, was liable to use Bengali *o* for *ā* and to confuse the sibilants *ś ś s* to the one sound *ś* giving *songoto* for *sangata*. The literary tradition has not always checked these changes. In manuscripts there is constant confusion of *b* and *v*, and of the sibilants *ś ś s*. Only grammatical studies could hinder these modifications. It can be conjectured how widely a text recited by a Balinese would differ, if recorded phonetically, from a text printed in India. Unconscious personal influence has worked upon the oral texts.

It is a similar matter if we observe how Chinese is read in Japan or an old Chinese book in modern China. If we open Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese* we can at once see how greatly the pronunciation has changed during the past twelve centuries.

When, therefore, I propose to put the recording of the Avesta in written form about the middle of the sixth century A.D., I am allowing the possibility of extensive changes in the traditional pronunciation and hence in the traditional words. It will rather surprise us to find old forms so faithfully kept with evident linguistic truth (as in the matter of umlaut) than to observe the new forms later introduced.



¹ Gaekwad's Oriental Series 67 (1933).

² The dastūr in Yazd told me I must go to Bombay if I wished to know the meaning of the Avestan texts. He himself did not know it.

VI DĒN-DIPIRIH

I HAVE now the task of discussing the evidence for the transmission of the Avesta in Avestan script, such as it was outlined in the fifth lecture, and of offering an interpretation of the complex data.

There are here involved four problems: (1) the phonetic changes through which Middle Iranian consonantal forms have replaced, or stand side by side with, Old Iranian forms; (2) the vowel system; (3) the value of the vowel signs of the Avestan alphabet; (4) the graphical origin of Avestan signs and the principle of their formation.

It has of course long been observed that within the Avesta two stages of the Old Iranian language are represented. Such forms as Av. *bitya*, indicating a pronunciation **bitiya*, with *b < dβ < dy* beside *dv-* in Av. *dvaēśah-* and the *duv-* in O.Pers. *duvitiya* made this conclusion inevitable. It was also possible to conjecture two distinct dialects in the Avesta if these different forms were contemporary. One may prefer a somewhat different explanation. It may be better to see in the co-existent forms with *b-* and *dv-*; with *zm* and *sm*; *sn śn žn* from O.Iran. *zn*; with *rt* and *š* and the like, the traces of the submission of the orally transmitted text to the influence of Middle Iranian pronunciation. Some of the phonetic consonantal changes to be observed in the Avesta have not been introduced into the Gāthās, but *yasna* is there throughout, and *aša* also except in isolation in the compound *dāfiit.arəta*. Since here, too, in the later Av. *fiit.aša* the *arəta* has been replaced by the regular *aša* *rt* is clearly not preserved in *dāfiit.arəta* for linguistic (accentual or compositional) reasons nor because the meaning was unknown. This is independent also of the precise value of the symbols  and  used in *aša*,¹ which will occupy us again below. For the development of *sn < zn* in *yasna* in both Gāthās and later Avestan, beside the (Median?) form preserved in Aramaic script as *yzn* **yazna*,² the latest date is given by the Aramaic

¹ Geldner, *Avesta*, introduction, p. li note 4.

² Schaefer, *Iranische Beiträge*, i. 267 [69].

by the alternation of ξ and ζ , and ξ and i ($zrah$ = N.Pers. *zirih*, *mah*, *mih* = N.Pers. *mih* and the like). This use of ξ for Pahlavi *wāw* is precisely recognized in the alphabet set at the head of the Pahlavi-Pāzand Frahang published by Salemann.¹ It is of course not the Avestan alphabet, as used for the Avesta, explained in Pahlavi script. It is precisely the reverse, and the presence of ξ should have made that clear at the first glance. The two alphabets are here in the same relation as the following list of words: Pahlavi with Pāzand equivalents. So can be understood the series of signs where the various values of Pahlavi η (*wāw*) are given. We have in Avestan letters *i*, \bar{i} , \bar{e} , \bar{a} , *n*, *w*, *v*, *u*. When Bartholomae suggested that here might be a trace of a value *wāw* for ξ he was inverting the facts. Pahlavi *wāw* is in fact represented by i and \bar{e} but with \bar{e} in the value of *e*.

The Pāzand evidence for the value of $\xi = \bar{e}$ and $\xi = e$ is therefore quite clear. There is, however, other evidence which takes the proof back some centuries. Manuscripts of the Avesta are numerous and it is a simple matter by the observation of variant spellings in the oldest or best manuscripts to see what values the scribes, and hence the oral tradition they were embodying in their text, assigned to these symbols.

A mechanical graphical tradition for the Avesta is for me an impossible theory, and the usual scribal mistakes abound. Moreover, Geldner was probably right in tracing each group of Avestan texts back to not remote archetypes. But everywhere and particularly in the later manuscripts the effects of oral tradition with the constantly changing pronunciation interfered with their copying. In this matter of ξ and ζ it is the easiest task to discover that for the scribes they were the equivalents of and interchangeable with η and especially with η . This is as evident in the oldest manuscripts as in the later. The following are a few of the innumerable cases:

¹ *Über eine Parsenhandschrift der kaiser. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg*, 1879.

Y 33. 2 <i>dragvāitē</i> M f 2 <i>drigvāitē</i> ¹	Y 30. 3 <i>yāmā</i> L b 2 <i>yīhmā</i>
Y 28. 8 J 2 <i>yām</i> K 5 <i>yīm</i> L 1 <i>yim</i>	Y 13. 4 M f 1 <i>vā</i> J 2 K 5 <i>vī</i>
Yt 11. 4 K 20 <i>spaēnīstahe</i> , ² others <i>spānīstahe</i>	Y 29. 4 J 2 <i>nā</i> K 5 <i>nā</i>
Y 29. 1 J 2 K 5 <i>kā</i> J 3 <i>kāmā</i>	Y 19. 19 K 5 J 2 <i>dāmābīš</i> S 1 <i>dāmē</i> <i>bīš</i>
Y 12. 4 J 2 <i>manābīs</i> K 5 <i>manaēbīs</i>	Y 12. 4 J 2 K 5 <i>vačābīs</i> K 20 <i>vačāē</i> <i>bīs</i>
Y 9. 28 <i>šē</i> M f 1 <i>šā</i>	Y 9. 28 K 4 <i>hē</i> M f 1 <i>hā</i> M f 2 <i>he</i>
Y 28. 11 <i>yā</i> M f 2 <i>yē</i>	Y 28. 4 M f 1 <i>gairē</i> Pd <i>gairē</i> S 1 <i>gaire</i> K 37 <i>gairī</i> H 1 <i>gairī</i> K 5 <i>gairīm</i> J 2 <i>gairīm</i> changed to <i>gairē</i>
Y 28. 11 M f 1 <i>tvām</i> J 2 K 5 <i>tvīm</i> S 1 <i>tvaēm</i> J 6 <i>tvem</i> L b 2 <i>tūm</i> L 1 <i>tvəm</i>	Yt 14. 25 F 1 <i>rānahe</i> L 11 <i>rānahe</i> K 36 <i>rānahe</i>
Y 9. 10 J 2 K 5 <i>səvištō</i> J 3 <i>səvištō</i> M f 2 <i>sivištō</i>	Y 30. 4 J 2 S 1 M f 1 <i>gaēmčā</i> M f 2 K 4 <i>gēmčā</i> J 4 <i>gīmčā</i>
Y 28. 5 M f 2 <i>səvištāi</i> S 1 <i>səvištāi</i> M f 1 J 2 <i>səvištāi</i> K 37 <i>sivištāi</i>	

Some touch of perversity will be suspected when the clear evidence for the alternation of ξ with i , \bar{e} , \bar{a} is ignored, while manuscript variants for other alternations are considered valid evidence for an older text. The value of *e* and \bar{e} for ξ and ζ is

irrefragable on the evidence of manuscript variants. We should note also Y 30. 4 J 2 M f 1 *hām* J p 1 C 1 *hīm* K 5 *hūm* and the variants of O.Iran. **darga*³ in Y 30. 11, 31. 20 *daragēm* *dragīm* *daragēm* *drīgēm* and J 3 *daragūm* with the alternation \bar{e} - \bar{i} - \bar{u} . In a later text note the use of ξ Frahang 1 oīm F 2 *jahī jāē jā* where

two syllables *a-i* with loss of intervocalic *-h-* have been written \bar{e} .

In view of such evidence it will be easy to understand a case such as Yt 3. 4 *nərayō* Yt 8. 11 *nəruyō* Y 10. 55 *nuruyō* Yt 3. 4 *nairyō*, *nərayō* where ξ alternates with *u* and \bar{i} : the labial *b* (and *u*) and the *y* have modified the oral transmission of the one syllable and also of both in two different directions. Similarly the Avestan word for the name of India has in the manuscripts the forms

¹ In the oral tradition *ug* of O.Iran. **drugvant-* has been replaced by *ig* owing to the influence of *g* or the fricative γ , as happened also in Khotanese in *tīma* 'seed' < **tuym* O.Iran. **tuχma* or **tauχma*, and for *-ag-* in *dīya-* 'burnt' < O.Iran. *dagda*.

² Fol. 157 r 9 (the variant is not given by Geldner). Cf. also GrBd 123. 7 *spēnīšt* corresponding to the Pāzand of the IndBd 40. 6 *spaēnīšt*.

³ The O.Iran. vowel is assured by Khotanese *dāra-* 'long'.

Yt 8. 32 J 10 *hiñdavaṭ* F 1 *hāndavaṭ* K 12 *haiñdvaṭ* K 15 *hundvāt*, Y 57. 29 K 5 *hiñdvō* J 2 *hāndvō* J 4 *haiñdvō* K 4 (dated 1723) *huñdvō* and the following *v* has affected the oral tradition in two manuscripts changing *i* to *u*.

It is of course well known that Andreas supposed ξ to indicate a wāw of an hypothetical older text. A modest list of 'proofs'¹ for such an equation has recently been given by Lommel in *Indo-germanische Forschungen* 56. 102, all of which are to be otherwise explained and none of them are due to the use of ξ for ū. The reader may easily judge for himself. Since I recognize the great services of Andreas, in particular the stimulation of his many pupils, I would prefer to pass over his less successful theories in silence, but so much should be said that the reason for this theory seems to have been that Andreas after first claiming² with doubtful understanding of Indo-European comparative grammar that Iranian kept the *a*, *e*, *o* distinct from the Indo-European period on, later set out a theory whereby O.Iran. *ā* and *au* were confounded in *ō*,³ seemingly overlooking an elementary principle of linguistic study in its application to Iranian dialectology, until *a* and *ā* became everywhere *o* and *ō*, together with which an unprovable palaeographical theory of the origin of Avestan ξ from Aramaic wāw crowned the whole.

It can be established as certainly as any other fact about the Avesta that ξ and ξ represent varieties of *ē* and *e* (probably a close *e* distinct from the *ē* which represents O.Iran. *ai*) for our earliest Avestan MSS., whence we may infer the same value for the non-extant archetype. I can see no reason to assume that at any period these signs had other values, from the time of the writing down of the Avesta (as I suppose, in the middle of the sixth century) to the date of our manuscripts.

Let us also note the other evidence. We have Avestan words written in the Pahlavi script. In the GrBd 98. 11 (Paris MS.)

¹ Y 50. 1 M f 1 *nā. nūcīt*, J 2 K 5 *nū. nācīt*, J 3 *nū. nācīt* and *raoχšnəmant-* might more wisely be left out of such a list.

² Criticized by Bartholomae, WZKM 24 (1910), 'Zum Lautwert der awestischen Vokalzeichen', and later dropped, see Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mittelpersian. Mundarten*, 6 (1925), 19.

³ Some evidence is offered by Lentz, in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus* (1926), 81.

occurs 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀, and in GrBd 98. 6 (P) 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀, that is, *wlyšk*, and the two dots show that the scribes meant *y*. Corresponding to this we have Pāzand in the IndBd (K 20, 103 v 14, 15) 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *vāraša*, and *vāriša*.¹ Dēnkart 801. 20 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *pyrs* renders Av. *parasā* but 918. 6 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *prs* (with mis-written 𐬰); GrBd 14. 12 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *rtprwk²* *byrzyt* corresponds to 162. 14 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 from an Avestan (Visprat 12. 1) *raṭwe barəzaite*; GrBd 123. 2 (P) Pāzand *barəzisavañg*, IndBd *barəzisavah*, corresponds to 124. 1 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *byrzsung*, IndBd *barəzisavan*. Zātspram K 35, 246 r 3 and GrBd 235. 13 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *pryn* represents the Avestan *frāni-*; GrBd 123. 7 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *spynšt* is Avestan *spēmišta*. These are not isolated cases³ and they can probably be accepted as evidence for the ninth-century writing in Pahlavi letters.

From another source we have probably further evidence. Benveniste⁴ has discussed the Sogdian *'kydrpw, kydrpw* 'form, body' showing that it corresponds to Av. *kəhrp*. Here, too, probably the *y* is evidence for Av. ξ, as Benveniste suggests p. 508, but it is not conclusive, since in a compound (and hence likely to be differently affected) we have *wyspyδr* with *-pyδr* for O.Iran. *puṭra*.

Since ξ and ξ are front vowels, the umlaut so prominent in the Avestan vulgate once more regains its importance: it can be surely recognized as a genuine linguistic development in the Avestan language. Hence if we note the type of umlaut in *dūraē-* beside

¹ To spare the theory of a wāw joined to the left. Scribal confusion of ' and ' occurs, as GrBd 82. 10 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀, IndBd 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀, IndBd K 20, 100 v 13 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀, Zātspram 6. 14 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀; GrBd 86. 6 DH 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 TD₂, P 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀, IndBd Pāzand *Koir* 'the river Kur', K 35, 235 r 7 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *zamik*. Contrast the wāw of DkM 602. 19 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *porušašp* and Arabic 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀.

² The frequent *-ōk* of compounds seems to have been used here in place of the dative ending.

³ The Av. *sarəda* is written 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *srtk*, 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *srytk*, and DkM 460. 10 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 *sr'tk* in Pahlavi.

⁴ BSOS ix. 506 ff.

dūire,¹ it becomes clear that we have further linguistic evidence of the value of *ǣ*: in *-tayaē[ǣ]* beside *-tāe* the *ā* represents the *-ay-* affected by *i*-umlaut, hence *ey* or a close *ē*. So, too, the effect of the palatal consonants upon the following vowel is evident in *sčandaya-* replaced by *sčindaya-* and *sčandaya-* with the alternation of *i* and *ə* (= close *e*); or of *hačimna* beside *hačēmnā*; and the modification of *a* to *ə* before nasals as in *skānda-*, *nāmāh-*, *fratāma*, and the like.² Similarly the umlaut of *arə* is *ir* in *miryeite* with variants *mairy-*, *mary-*, *māry-* (Vid 3. 33; 7. 37). For the alternation *yōi* and *yaēčā* it is interesting to recall Welsh *wy* beside *ae*, and in Cornish *oi*, *ui* from Indo-European *ei*. As with *ao* and *āu* a dialectal or artificial pronunciation is probably reflected. So also the umlaut in *astō.vīdōtuš* and *vīdātaoŋ* with *ō* and *ā* is to be considered a genuine linguistic distinction which the oral tradition has preserved.

The oral tradition did not cease to affect the Avestan texts when they were once written down. It will be remembered how in Kirmān and Yazd where they replaced *dūr* 'far' by *dir* in their own speech the *yaθā ahū vairyō*, commonest of prayers, became *yaθā ahū vairyō*. This replacement of *ū* by *i* accordingly appears in the Avestan MSS. of the Persian group.³ It is to this oral tradition also that the modifications of *a* to *e* or *i* and to *ō* are due. At first we may ascribe these changes to the adjacent sounds but it is likely that the original limits were early transgressed and two forms could be used of the one word, as with different vowel Y 49. 2 *dōrašt*, *dōrišt* and Y 43. 13 *dārašt*, or with different consonant *dāfjūt.arata-* and *aša* in the Gāthās. There is no difficulty in seeing the reason for *ō* in place of *a* in *-ōhu* loc. pl. or *-ōhva* 2 sg. imperat. med. beside *-āhu* and *-ahvā* with *u*-umlaut, or of *-ābyō* *-āibyō* beside *-abyō* and *-aoyō*, or of *-ābiš* beside *-āibiš* (cf. in Old Persian the *-ai-* of *dastaibiyā*, *pādaibiyā*)⁴ with *i*-umlaut, and *ā* = *āēi*. This is also the explanation for many other vowel forms in the Avestan

¹ The same umlaut is found in Khotanese, as *mūra-* gen. sg. *mvire* 'ratna'.

² Junker's derivation of *ǣ* from Aramaic *h*, *Caucasica*, 2. 56 does not convince and need not be considered here, nor Hertel's use of it in *Der Planet Venus im Avesta*, on which see B. Geiger, WZKM 45 (1938), 119.

³ Except traces of a distinction in M f 2, Geldner, *Avesta*, introduction 1 and note 2.

⁴ The endings are discussed by Bartholomae, *Zur Etymologie und Wortbildung der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 1919, 19 ff.

texts. Note also the development of *-y-* in *aiwi.zūzuyanqm* Y 8. 4 from a reduplicated participle **zūzuvāna-* between two vowels as in N.Pers. *gōyad* from *gaub-*. One other point needs a reference: the external difference between the Gāthās and the later Avesta is marked also in regard to final vowel quantities of words of more than one syllable, and often medially. The Gāthās have often long vowels corresponding to short vowels in later texts but not consistently throughout and there are frequent manuscript variants.¹ Hence we have Gathic *yāma-*² 'twin' (variants *yāhmā*, *yihmā*), *yām*, *yīm* 'whom', *təviš*, *səvištāi*, *ahyā*. That this was felt to mark off these texts can be seen by the treatment in the later Avesta of the gen. sg. ending *-ahe*, which corresponds to Gathic *-ahyā*. In the later quotation of Gathic phrases we find *-ahē* with long *-ē*, a lengthening of the later Av. *-ahe* in place of the older Gathic ending, as in Y 13. 2 *fryehē vāzištahē*, Y 12. 1 *yeñhē* where the Gathic has *yehyā*. Similarly the *drvāite* which quotes Gathic *drigvāitē*. When a vowel is written by anaptyxis between two consonants it may be given long in such a Gathic word as Y 29. 2, J 2 *dragvō*. *dābiš* beside K 5 *dragvō.dibiš* for O.Iran. **drugvadbiš*. Here too belongs the Gathic *dāfjūt.arata-* (Y 53. 6, 9),³ later Av. *jūt.aša-*: the initial sound treated as a conjunct *j* (= *dž*) has been broken up by a vowel.

Note, too, that to explain the two forms *jum* and *jim* we need not have recourse to a defective graphic transmission, as proposed by Benveniste,⁴ since the O.Iran. **jvām* by usual replacement with **jium* will give **jyum* > *jum*⁵ or **ji(u)m* > *jim*.

On the origin of the individual signs of the Avestan alphabet I can be brief, since it is only intended to indicate the principle of its formation. It is a personal view.⁶ I consider that we have

¹ So Y 44. 19 J 2 *apāmam* K 5 *apāmam*: the two oldest manuscripts. In the Gāthās we find *yīma-* Y 32. 8 and *yāma-* Y 30. 3.

² Pahl. *yomāy* has modified the vowel as in the ending *-ama-*, Pahl. *-om*. The Avestan oral tradition *ā/i* corresponds rather with the Ossetic change of *-ama-* > *-ām*.

³ There are variants, but all have a long vowel in the first syllable, verse 6 J 2 M f 2 *dā-*, K 5 verse 6 *dān-*, verse 9 *dā*, K 4 both *dī-*, verse 9 M f 2 *daē-*. The consonant varies, verse 6 K 5 J 2 *j*, M f 2 *č*, J 7 *z*, verse 9 J 2 K 5 M f 2 *j*, J 3 *ž*.

⁴ *Monde Oriental*, 1932, 179 note 1.

⁵ Khotanese *jūtā* 'he lives' shows that the *iv* may be genuinely changed after *j* to *ū*. Cf. Manichean Sogd. *šw'n* 'life'.

⁶ B. Geiger's more recent view expressed in OLZ 1933, 377 ff., seems to have a juster understanding of many points than I have noticed elsewhere.

an artificial creation of about the middle of the sixth century A.D. intended to record the language as it was then pronounced. It seems unacceptable to derive this alphabet from two forms of the Aramaic script¹ nor do I think we should derive signs from the *h* which appears in Pahlavi only at the end of Aramaic ideograms. The basis of it is rather the current cursive² (Pārsīy) script of the sixth century. The principle of its formation can be seen by observing *u* *p* and *f*. Here the *f* is distinguished from *u* by an arbitrary lengthening of the initial stroke and this serves the purpose of a diacritical mark. The *w* is similarly³ formed from *u* by a diacritical addition to the right. If this is recognized it is easy to see that *a* *ā* *χ* *h* are all modifications of the one sign *u* in which older Aramaic *h* and *alif* have coalesced. That we are dealing with a cursive form of script such as the late Sasanian coins, the Pahlavi books, and the Pahlavi papyri show is easily seen in *χ* where *u* and *y* have been combined. From *t* have been formed also *δ* and *θ*. For *me* and *are* are two modifications of *š* with *y* and *u* which occurs before *ad*, but was in the manuscripts (so Yt 9.2 *uzqiri* beside *uzērin*) interchanged with *u*, must be explained as *hy*.⁴ The curve below to the right in *u* and *u* representing *y* is I think found also in *u*, probably a modification of *alif* with *y*.⁵ Hence the value of *u* to replace *aē* at the end of a word causing *i*-umlaut and alternating with *f*. I would add that *ξ* and *ξ* are probably also modifications

¹ As Junker proposed, *Caucasica*, 2 and 3.

² This was the view of Salemann, loc. cit. 508. Hansen seems, according to the report of a lecture ZDMG 91 (1937), *16* to hold a similar view, but I do not know that the lecture has been published.

³ Implying that intervocalic *u* *p* was pronounced as *β*.

⁴ It will be seen that the explanation of Andreas, NGGW 1911, 33, and of B. Geiger in the *Festschrift Andreas* that *u* was *π* replacing *π* when *hv* (*χv*) was pronounced *χ* does not seem right to me: I doubt the period to be assumed for the change, and the arbitrary manner of inventing the Avestan signs had not been realized.

⁵ Cf. the interesting collocation *uzqiri* *uzērin* in DkM 793. 19. In the compound Pahlavi *hm'y* they knew the same value (*ham-ē*) medially in the consonantal script.

of *y* by which they were represented in Pahlavi writings of the consonantal form. It must be held in mind that the signs within a system may be infinitely modified: the one condition is that they shall remain distinct. In dealing with an artificially invented alphabet palaeographical similarity does not prove identical origin. Hence the *ξ* in *u* representing **āu* can and indeed must be kept distinct from the separate *ξ*. The formation of *u* from *y* by the diacritical curve to the right presupposes the pronunciation of intervocalic and (for Middle Iranian) final *h* as *γ*, as *w* does of *u* as *β*.

To gather up the results of this brief study, I may say that it is likely that our present Avestan texts go back to an edition after the fall of the Sasanian empire of the fragments saved from the first edition of about the middle of the sixth century A.D. This was the writing down of the oral tradition, so far as can be seen, a first writing down, in the priestly pronunciation of the time. Hence the difference on the one hand from Bartholomae and earlier writers in the insistence that the extant text represents an artificially preserved language by people speaking another language who had modified it unconsciously but seriously, introducing Middle Iranian forms unevenly into the text; and it differs on the other hand from the theory of a mechanical graphical tradition¹ in an easily misunderstood consonantal text, on which reconstructions such as those of Andreas and those influenced by him have been based. The oral transmission had continued to modify the text after the earliest writing down, hence the confusions of vowels and consonants in even the oldest manuscripts (*aē* and *i* M f 1. 2 *vaēnōit*, J 2 K 5 *vinōit*; or of *ǰčžz*; *tθ*; *dδθ*, the presence or absence of *h*²).

What then can be known of Avestan at the stage of Old Iranian such as we know it in Old Persian? If we wish to know the approximate form of it we must assume on the evidence of old forms in the Avestan text (such as *arata* beside *aša*, *dvaēšah* beside *ǰbaēšah*, *-dwaem* beside Gathic *-dūm*), a type of Old Iranian near to that attested on the Old Persian inscriptions, in Median or Persian

¹ B. Geiger, OLZ 1933, 377-86, has moved away somewhat from this position with a fuller recognition of an oral tradition.

² The *h* is a difficulty in manuscript traditions of various languages.

words in Greek or Akkadian or Old Indian.¹ We could then, as has indeed been partially done, replace the orthography of our late manuscripts by an older orthography, just as the Classical scholar has abandoned the spellings of medieval Latin manuscripts for forms nearer to the old Latin inscriptions or has made his Greek texts uniform. The Avestan reconstruction, however, remains to this extent less certain in that the Classical scholar has his extant inscriptions but such abundant help fails us for Avestan. In many details ambiguities will always remain. A risk of some seriousness is the use of Indian materials. The later Iranian dialects must certainly be the deciding factor, and perhaps Khotanese and Maral-bashi Iranian² may be considered to be particularly important³ as presenting a fully vocalized language, to which the Sogdian will bring much to assist, in the elucidation of Old Iranian problems.⁴

¹ Rare in Indian, but the *śavati* of Yāska is interesting, see Charpentier, ZII 2. 144.

² Sten Konow, *Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt*, 1935.

³ So Khotanese *ysīdāa*- 'yellow' < **zarita*- by *i*-umlaut assures us that Av. *zarita*- is a genuine form, just as Khotanese *ysāda*- 'old' < **zarta*- and *sāda*- 'cold' < **sarta*- assure us of the vocalization of Av. *zarata*-, *sarata*-; and Khotanese *pharu* 'much' of the Old Iranian form from which Avestan has derived *pouru*.

⁴ An illustration of a modification in the oral tradition is given in Appendix VIII.

APPENDIX I

The hope of deliverance by Varhrān ī varčāvand is well known in the Bahman Yašt 3.14 ff. The present short text is concerned with the same feeling of *vat-žamānakīh* 'evil times' (cf. GrBd 2. 1).

Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts*, pp. 160-1.

kaḍ bavāt kaḍ paḍak-ē āyēt hač
hindūkān kaḍ mat ān ī šāh-vahrām
hač dūt (ak ī) kayān kaḍ pūl hast
1000 apar sarān [sar] hast pūlpān
kaḍ ārāstak draḥš dārēt pat advēn
ī husravān pēš laškar barēnd pat
spāh-sardarān mart-ē basīr apāyēt
kartan zīrak targamān kaḍ šavēt
bē goḥpēt pat hindūkān kaḍ amāk ēē
dūt hač dast ī tāčīkān apar ēvak
grōh dēn nizār kart ut bē *ōzat
šāhān šāh čēgōn sak χ^oarēnd nāyn
bē stat hand pāt šāhūh ī hač
husravān nē pat humar nē pat
martīh bē pat aḥsōs ut rīyahrih³
bē stat hand gīrēnd pat stahmb hač
martōmān žan ut χ^oāstakīhā ī šīrēn
bāy bōdastān gazītak⁴ apar nīhāt
hand bē baxt hand apar sarān apāč
aslik⁵ χ^oāst hand sāk ī garān bē
nikīr kaḍ čand vat aḥkand ān druž
pat ēn gēhān kaḍ nēst vattar hač

When will it be that a courier will come from India (to say) that the Šāh Vahrām of the family of the Kays has come, having a thousand elephants, with an elephant-keeper upon each of their heads, who bears the raised standard? In the manner of the Husraus they bear it before the army. To the generals a messenger is needed, a skilled interpreter. When he comes, he will tell in India, what we have seen from the hand of the Tāčīks in one multitude. The Dēn was ruined and the King of Kings slain like a dog. They eat the bread. They have taken away the sovereignty from the Husraus. Not by skill and valour but in mockery and scorn have they taken it. By force they take from men wives and sweet possessions, parks and gardens. Taxes they have imposed, they have distributed them upon the heads. They have demanded again the principal, a heavy impost. Consider how much evil those wicked ones have cast upon this world, than

¹ Arabic باشر *bašīr* 'messenger'.

² 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. Cf. DkM 48. 20 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥; 49. 2 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 from Syriac *trgm*- 'interpreter'.

³ Cf. Henning, BSOS ix. 87, Mid.Parth. *ryl* 'haughtiness, scorn'.

⁴ 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 Syriac *gzyt* 'tribute', Firdausī, Šāhnāma, *gzyt i sar; gazit, gazid* 'capitation-tax'. Arabic *jizyah*.

⁵ Arabic أصلي, cf. N.Pers. *māl i aḥlī* 'principal'.

avē vat gēhān hač amāk bē āyēt
 ān šāh-vahrām ī varčāvand hač
 dūtāk (ī) kayān bē āḡarēm kēn ī
 tāčikān čegōn rōtastahm' āḡurt
 gurz SŠ kēn ī gēhān ašān
 mazgīūhā² frōt hīlēm bē nišānēm
 ātaḡšān uzdeščārihā bē kanēm ut
 pāk kunēm hač gēhān tāk avēn
 šavēnd druž višutakān hač ēn
 gēhān

fražast pat drōt šātīh

which ill there is none worse. The world passes from us. We shall bring that Šāh Vahrām worker of mighty deeds, of the family of the Kays to vengeance on the Tāčiks as Rōtastahm bore the club for vengeance on the world. Their mosques we will cast down, we will set up fires, their idol-temples we will dig down and purify away from the world so that shall vanish the spawn of the wicked one from this world.

Finished in peace and joy.

APPENDIX II

The treatise on medicine DkM 157. 6-170. 11. Casartelli, 'Un traité pehlevi sur la médecine', in *Le Muséon* v (1886), offered a translation, meritorious for the time when it was written but needing many corrections. Here only a transcription is presented so far as it can be at present read.

DkM 157.

6 apar bižiških bun ut apāyišnik čim aḡvēnak-baḡš-
 7 išn. ut kār ut sūt ut yudt-bunih ī bižiških
 8 hač vimārih ut bižišk čegōnih vēhih ut matak
 9 kē kār apar. ut kār ī apar mātag ut arž apar
 10 sang ut handāk ī tan-bižišk pat tan-bižiških ruvān-
 11 bižišk pat ruvān-bižiških uzmāyišn ī apar harv
 12 dō uzmūtan šāyēt ut uzmūk nē šāyēt ut
 13 niyāzak kunišn ī bižišk apāk dēhik martōm ī
 14 avešān bižišk <u>zmūt ut aframūt bižiških kartan
 15 puhl ut kē bižišk uzmūk ut ō bižiških vičitan
 16 ḡvēškārih ut bižiških ut druvist-patīh nām aržānikih
 17 ut pēšak kē bižiških andar ān ī ruvān bižišk hač tan-
 18 bižišk tan-bižiških hač ruvān-bižišk<ih> ut harv hač pāt-
 19 ḡšāy apāyišn vimārih bun ḡān čē-š aḡvēnak ut
 20 nām dārūk aḡvēnak nērōk-druvistih vinārišn ut ān ī tan

¹ Rōtastahm, Draxt asōrik 41 (ed. Unvala, BSOS ii. 657). N.Pers. رستم and رستم (R. von Stackelberg, *Vienna Oriental Journal* 15 (1901), 380.)

² mazgīt 'mosque', N.Pers. mazgīt.

21 rastakān pat druvistih vinārtārih ut sāčēnāk jān
 22 nērōkih pat sūtkārih hamēnāk niyāz ī martōm ō tan
 23 dārišn jān-virādišn ḡvarišn dārūk ōšmurišn ī ḡōn

DkM 158.

1 vinārišn ī vinārišn dārūk sahmān kē kār ī pat
 2 tan-bižiških apar bižiških kunišn ut fražāmišn
 3 hangartik-ē pat [pat] *nisang vāčak ī hač nikēž ī vēhdēn
 4 ēt bižiških bun *ōhrmazdik fražānakih kē bižiških-ič
 5 hačiš nazdtar aḡiš dānišn ī apar čihrak ī gumēčakah ut bižiških
 6 apāyišnikih čim niyāz ī čim hač aḡigat ut anē gētik dahišnān
 7 ō pātan ī pat druvistih bešāzēnitan ī hač vimārih
 8 bižiških hač vimārih yudt-bun čegōn yudt-bunih ī dānākih
 9 bižiških ēvak gētik bižiških ut yudt yudt handarzikh ēvak
 10 ut mēnōk-bižiških handarzikh pat vēhdēn nirang aḡigat dām
 11 vimārih ut anē zōr ī gētik [y] hač dām bē burt ut apasihēnitan
 12 gētik-bižiških handarzikh pat vēhdēn dānākih gētik dām
 13 tan hač aḡigat vimārih pahreḡtan bešāzēnitan andar harv ēvak
 14 baḡšišn dō amarakānik ut ēvāčik amarakānikih ī mēnōk bižiških
 15 hač vēh dēn nikēž amarakān martōm ruvān[yh]-bižiških ī apērtar
 16 pat ḡvēš hēm virāstan ī gēhāniyān dahyupat ut gēhān
 17 rat zartuštrōktom bavēt ut-aš ēvāčik ēvak <ēvak> martōm
 18 ruvān-bižiških pat apāč-āhangih ī hač dušmat ut dušhūxt ut
 19 dušhuvaršt ut frač-āhangih ī ō humat ut hūxt ut huvaršt pat
 20 virāst hēm dānāk<ih> ut dēn burtārih hač vēh dēn nikēž
 21 apērtar bavēt ut amarakānikih ī gētik-bižiških martōm tan-
 22 bižiških ī vēhdēn-nikēžik hač zartuštrōktom-dastaḡarih ut
 23 dahyupat-huframānih nikās pātan ī zahakān ī tanān bun hač

DkM 159.

1 vinastakih ut-aš ēvāčik ēvak ēvak martōm tan-bižiških ī hač
 2 druvist-patān *āmōk pātan ī-šān rastakān hač vinastakih bavēt
 3 ut tan-bižiških baḡšišn ēn-ič dahišn *ī-šān rastakān hač
 4 vinast dēnik nām ahrāyih-bešāzēnišn ut ātaḡš-bešāz-
 5 išn ut urvar [w]-bešāzišn ut kār-bešāzišn nēšak-bešāz-
 6 išn ut mansr-bešāzišn ut-aš matakvar mansr-bešāzišn
 7 ān ī andar gētik *guyānik' ut-aš matakvariā čim apē-reš ut beš
 8 ut ranj ī tan tēž bē-burtan ī apar-mansrik aḡsōn nērōk
 9 vimārih hač tan ut diḡkar ān ātaḡš-bešāzišn ut-aš

𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 'magic', cf. GrBd 228. 13 adak-ič zivast narsēy ī viyāpānik (𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎)= IndBd 77. 10 (in Avestan letters) gyāvān) ḡ'ānēnd 'then lived also Narsēy whom they call the magician'.

- 10 čim apāk nērōk ī ātaxš pat bē-burtan ī *vinastakih ut
 11 pūtākīh ī vīmārīh *vāzīšn hač andarvāl pat-ič tāftan ī tan
 12 patiš ut gandītan ī urvar ī pērōzgar bōz bē-burtan ī vas
 13 vīmārīh hačīš pat kam-ranjīh ī tan ut sitīkar ī ān urvar-
 14 bēšāzīšnīh ut-aš čim pat kamīh ī hač reš ut ranj ī hač kārt
 15 <ut> nešak-bižiškīh pat x^vartan *bōzēnītan ut anē-č aλvēnak vīmārīh
 16 hač tan bē-burtan *andar kārt <ut> nešak-bižiškīh
 17 nešak aβdom bižiškīh ut ruvān-bižiškīh baχšīšn sē vēhdēn
 18 gōβīšn-virravišnik kunišn[yk]-virravišnik harv dō virravišnikīh
 19 bēšāzēnītan ī martōm ruvān ut pat gēhān druvist-pat aržān-
 20 īkīh avē kē amarakān martōm ruvān hač vinās ut tan hač
 21 vīmārīh pātār ut pat gēhān bižiškīh nām aržānikīh avē
 22 kē amarakān martōm [w] ruvān hač vinās ut tan hač vīmārīh bēšāz-
 23 ēnītār ut pat ēvak ēvak hač martōmān druvist-pat nām aržān-

DkM 160.

- 1 -ikīh avē kē martōm ēvak ēvak ruvān hač vinās ut tan hač vīmā-
 2 rīh pātār ut pat ēvak ēvak hač martōm bižišk nām
 3 aržānikīh avē kē martōm ēvak ēvak ruvān hač ruvān tan hač
 4 vīmārīh bēšāzēnītār ōh-ič tan-bižiškīh ēn-ič ēvak dō
 5 ēvak pātan ī tan pat druvistīh ut ēvak bēšāzēnītan ī
 6 tan hač vīmārīh ut ham handāčak ruvān-bižiškīh pat pātan ī
 7 ruvān hač vinās bēšāzēnītan hačīš ut kār <ī> amarakānik bižiškīh
 8 pātan ī amarakān martōm ruvān tan pat druvistīh ut bēšāzēnītan
 9 ī hač vīmārīh ut sūt ī hačīš vinartan ī gēhān pat druvistīh
 10 pākīh ut hubōzīh ut kār ī *ēvāčik bižiškīh pātan ī
 11 ēvak ēvak hač martōm ruvān hač vinās ut tan hač vīmārīh ut sūt
 12 ī hačīš druvistīh ut kārikīh ī martōm tan ahravīh ī-šān
 13 ruvān ut bižišk čēgōnīh handāčak hač vičīn ī fražānak dahyupat
 14 vēhdēn-nikežīk apar ruvān-bižišk ut tan-bižišk harv dō
 15 apar ruvān-bižišk zartuhštrōktom dēn dastaβar ku apēčak hēm ut
 16 āsnūtak xrat ut dēn vāspuhrakān ut yazdān-mēnītār[īh] ut
 17 yaštār ut mēnōk-vēnišn varm apastāk ut vičītār zand ut ākās dēn ut
 18 agumān rastak ut mas-dātastānīh [w]-šnās vahmanīk ut a-ēšm ut
 19 zat-varan vānītāk-āz pat zanišn ī vināskārān tēž-framān pat
 20 bahr ut pātdahišn aržānikān sačāk baχtār ut bunīk yatak-gōβ
 21 ēn sē čīš patmān-dāštār hast čašm ut dahān ut 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎
 22 uzvān ut gōš ut grīv čašm hač zanīn ut dahān hač x^varišn ī

DkM 161.

- 1 huaλvēn uzvān hač halakīh, ut gōš hač huniyākīh ut grīv hač č-
 2 āpukīh ku dātār nē čandihāt čahār pešakān nē

- 3 vināsihāt ut bavānd an-aspen pat zanišn ī dēvān bōχtārīh
 4 nimūtār ī dāmān rāst vičīrgar miyān šāh ut gēhānikān ut
 5 rāst dastaβar pat harv hēr ut spur-barihā pāyihāt ham āz
 6 dahyupatīh ī dēn ut čimīk dahihāt raβākīhāt harv
 7 framān ut apar čīhr ārāstār *handarz kartan bižišk ērān
 8 druvist-pat ku pahrēč vēh-čīhrak ut ruvān dōst bārīk
 9 vēnišn vas x^vānišn varm nipēk ut vas-uzmāyīšn ut nērōk ī gōhr
 10 ut vihūrišn ī yatakān čīhr ī tan anākīh ut hangām-šnās ut
 11 vartišn-šnās vīmārīh darmān-šnās bižišk bavandak ut agumēk
 12 čēhak ut hutars ut hamahl-dōst ut nēst-arišk ut čarp-ēvāč
 13 nē-tarmēnišn ut burt-hubarišn huvirravy ut vīmārīh dušmēn ut
 14 vīmāragān dōst ut *mart paristītār ut nē bižītār ut 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎 ut
 15 huspanj frahayt ut sačak dast ut frahayt kār ut bēšāz framāyīšn
 16 husravīh pātār ut nē 𐬨𐬀𐬎𐬎¹ bē mēnōk mizd ut dōšītār čē
 17 hačīš būt pat ēraman ēr ī gētik hambrātakīh ut bēšāz
 18 urvar-aβzārīh hupassāčīšn darmānīhā pahrēχtārīh tan hač
 19 vīmārīh bē barišnīh ī vaštakīh ut hiyandakīh matārīh ī āsānīh
 20 ut mičōmandīh ut vēš-kārikīh ī zīndakīh vēhīh ut gās ī
 21 ruvān-bižišk pat ruvān-bižiškīh ut rāst tars-kās ašava-
 22 hišt amahraspandān *gētik aβyastīh² ut ān ī tan-bižišk pat tan-

DkM 162.

- 1 bižiškīh ēramān-x^vāzīšnīh ī aβzār ī *yazdān ašavahišt
 2 amahraspand hamkār aβyastīh ut matak kē ruvān-bižišk kār
 3 apar tanōmand ruvān ī hamāk martōm ut kār ī-š apar matak
 4 pat kunišn pahrēčīšn ī hač vēh dēn āmōk ašavahišt
 5 amahraspand aβyastīhā ruvān hač ruvān hač vinās pātan pat vēh
 kirpak
 6 ahravēnītan ut matak kē tan-bižišk ut kār apar matak
 7 ruvānōmand dīt harv martōm ut kār ī-š apar matak pat
 8 pahrēč ut darmān-aβzārīh ēraman aβyastīh tanān pat
 9 druvistīh pātan ut hač vīmārīh bēšāzēnītan ruvān-bižiškīh
 10 [ut] arž handāčak hač tan pat zīvandakīh [ut] <ī> mārišnōmandān
 ī hač
 11 ruvān tan-bižiškīh arž handāčak hač ruvān pat *aβzārīh ī
 12 kārikīh ī hač tan ut ruvān-bižiškīh sang x^vat ut tan-
 13 bižiškīh sang aβzār handāčak ut handāk ī ruvān-bižišk pat
 14 ruvān-bižiškīh apar-ič šnāsakīh ī jān zōrān ut-šān
 15 brātārōt ī ēvak ēvak čēgōn pātākīh ī pat x^vēš druvist

¹ DkM 387. 7 tuχšēnītār 'n'pk ī anaspās.² To abi-yat-, Av. aibyasti- 'exertion'.

22 vānitan *māndastūtan paiḷāk 4000 ut 333 aḷvēnak ī andar
23 vānišn dāšt ēstēt ut-aš paiḷāk nām čegōn ažiṛ.¹ u.

DkM 166.

1 ayīr. u. ayaṛam. u. dašn. u. tafn. u. sāran. sā
2 rastr. u. ayaš. ut anē-č ut-aš paiḷāk zand ošmurišn
3 ožōmand ān ī ō tan ristakān gumēčakīh hačapar nipišt ut-aš
4 andar zamāniḥā tāk fraškart hamāk pat fraškart *vāniḥēt
5 *ku ānāpiḥēt paiḷāk ut hamist ēt ī tan vimāriḥ bayšihēnd
6 ō dō aḷvēnak ēvak² yask ī ōkārišnōmand³ ut-aš vičār-
7 išn patvišakōmand⁴ čegōn vavaršn.⁵ nir.⁵ ut ēvak ī yask ī
8 anōkārišn ut-aš vičārišn apatvišak čegōn tafn.⁶ u
9 naēzi.⁶ ut ān-ič ī jān vimāriḥ hamist bayšihēnd ō dō
10 aḷvēnak ēvak frač-āhangik āhōk čegōn āz ut ēsm ut ēvak apāč-
11 āhangik āhōk čegōn sustih ut spōžkariḥ ut dārūk aḷvēnak
12 hač urvar [i] sarḷak yask ham-mar ut hač-ič zamik gōβēt
13 ut-aš pat patmān nērōk-dāštariḥ pēš dārūk būt nūn-ič
14 pat dārūk vīnartak ut fračtar-ič pat dārūkiḥ pattāyast čegōn
15 halilak ī kāβulik ut-aš pēš pat škaft-zahriḥ
16 ēstātan nūn-ič pat amēčišn ī apāk anē dārūk ō darmāniḥ
17 rasēt nūn fračtar-zahriḥ hamāk hačiš bariḥēt ut ō-ič
18 martōm gōspand x̄varišn mat ēstēt gōβēt čegōn bēš ut *balātur
19 ut anē-č ut-aš navak navak frač pat bēšazišniḥ nērōk-aβzōnikih ut
20 fračtar ō vazurk zōr bēšazišniḥ matan gōβēt čegōn hač urvar
21 *rāšn vahugōn hač zamik gōkart ut-aš ēvak ī dārūkāniḥā
22 čegōn hōm ī spēt ī andar frāx^vkart zrēh ut pat fraškart
23 a-ōših ī martōm patiš kartan gōβēt ut druvistih dō

DkM 167.

1 aḷvēnak ēvak apar ruvān-druvištih pat hupatmān huvap hamyōx-
takik
2 vīnartakih ī jān nērōkān ut ēvak apar tan-druvistih pat
3 druvist sahmāniḥā ēstišn ī tan ristakān ut vīrāzišn
4 niyāziḥ ī jān-ič hač pitīyarak gumēčišn ī ō zōrān čegōn ō

¹ 165. 23 ažiṛ to 166. 2 ayaš is written in Avestan letters.

² ēvak aḷvēnak transposed.

³ ōkārišn 'to be removed, isolated' because causing contagion. Pahlavi Texts 131 § 14 ōkārtan 'to remove'; SGV 11. 138 hugārend = Skt. apaharanti; DkM 359. 16 ōkārtan, 18 ōkāriḥēt.

⁴ 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 ptwīšk, Dd 16. 13 but ŠnŠ 2. 7 ptwīšk, cf. ŠnŠ 9. 7 has kē andar kaštik bē mīrēt bīm ī patvišak rād ō āp pātaṣāy aβkandan 'a person who dies on board ship, it is permitted to cast into the water for fear of contagion'.

⁵ Avestan letters.

⁶ Avestan letters.

5 dānišn nērōk ī jān dušakāsiḥ hamēstārik ut dēsak
6 . . . išnīk 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 brātarōt ō hēm nērōk ī dānišn hamyōxt dēsak
7 . . . išnīh 𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬭𐬀 hamēstārik ut frēftāriḥ brātarōtik ut ō takikih
8 nērōk[yh] ī jān sustih hamēstārik ut ēsmakēniḥ brātarōt
9 <ō> bavandak-mēnišniḥ nērōk ī takikih hamyōxt ēsmakēniḥ hamēstārik
10 sustih brātarōtik ō apāyišn nērōk ī jān spōžkariḥ
11 hamēstārik varanikih brātarōtik ō nikiritāriḥ ī nērōk ī
12 apāyišn [y] hamyōxt varanik hamēstārik ut *dahakih brātarōtik
13 ō yumbišn nērōk ī jān ašgihāniḥ <hamēstārik> ut *dahakih brātarōtik
14 ut ō xāmōših nērōk ī gōβišn hamyōxt *dahakih hamēstārik ut
15 ašgahāniḥ brātarōtik pitīyarak ku tāk pat vīrāzišn ī
16 jānik hač huvap-hamyōxtakik pat hamih ī *akandak vīnārišn i-š
17 zōrān pitīyarak ī jān zōrān handāxt mastih ut starān
18 startih hač jān ōsāniḥāt ut pat pākih vīnāriḥāt ut
19 pat kirpak tuyšihāt hač bazak pahrēčāt ut druvand ma bē
20 ahrav bavāt ut bēšāz niyāziḥ ī tan čim ērang sart
21 hušk ut aβigatik pitīyarak ī ō darmānitan <i> xōn tan mātak ku
22 hamēstārik rasišnik hambatast pat sartih ī garmiḥ ī xōn

DkM 168.

1 aβsāriḥāt pat huškiḥ x̄vētiḥ-aš hōšēnāt ut ma patihāt
2 fratom-ič tan mātak andar tan pānakēniḥāriḥ [w] pātīrāniḥāt
3 dām hač raβākīh ut patvandišn ī ō fraškart ut hač dātār [w]
4 *framān-kāriḥ ērang tan pitīyarak hač hambitīk tēž-spōžih
5 tan garmiḥ pat sartih ut-aš x̄vētiḥ pat huškiḥ ut hač ham bē
6 apattūkīh ī tan mātak ut nērōk andar tan bavānd yatāriḥ
7 ut vīnārtāriḥ čegōn hambitīkān ākanēn ēstēnd apāč-bastakih ī
8 brātarōtik sartih ō x̄vētiḥ ut huškiḥ ō *garmiḥ ku tar
9 ham čegōn tan mātak ut nērōk ut pat bavēnākīh ut parvarākīh
10 ī tan tōhmak-ē ēstišn vīnārišn bavāt ēt ī paiḷāk pat
11 visp zindakān tan vimāriḥ ī hamēstārik ut brātarōtik hač
12 aβigat tan pitīyarak ut ō tan pačihēt andar drang ī ēst-
13 išn ut vīnārišn ī tan mātak ut nērōk hač čihriḥ ī čihri
14 ī hač andarōn tan patiš dārūk ut darmān ī hubiziškiḥ hač xōn bērōn
15 tan bēšāziḥāt andar gumēčakīh ī hač aβigatik pitīyarak dām-
16 raβākīh ut patvandišn [y] bavāt čegōn ēt ī paiḷāk ku
17 ētōn vīnārišn ī martōm čegōn tan-druvistih andar aβigatik
18 pitīyarak gumēčakik ut ān ī tan ristakān pat druvistih vīnā-
19 rtāriḥ sāčēnāk čihri ut ān ī jān nērōkān pat sūtākariḥ
20 *hamēnāk ax̄v ut dārišn niyāziḥ ī tan hač oštāp ī čihri
21 hač ān i-š hamēstār ut dārišn ō aḷiyāriḥ <i> čihri pat
22 oštāp-spōž ī hač hamēstār ut dārišn hast x̄varišn ut

DkM 169.

- 1 x^varišn pat patvastan i nērōk i andar x^varišn ō nērōk i pat
- 2 amēčišn a2iyārih i čihr čegōn nam i andar x^varišn ō amēčišn-
- 3 ik nam i pat čihr ku tāk amēčišnik nam pat aḡigatik huškīh
- 4 ma hvāsāt ut ātaχš i pat aḡigatik sartih ma aḡsā-
- 5 rāt vāt i andar x^varišn ō amēčišnik vāt i pat čihr ku tāk
- 6 amēčišnik[yh] vāt pat nizārih ma bandihāt ut gil i andar x^varišn
- 7 ō amēčišnik *gil i pat čihr ku tāk amēčišnik gil pat
- 8 sustih i hač girišn ma [w] višāyihāt hamāk ō ēn ku
- 9 tāk čihr hač oštāp ut čandak i hač aḡigat *ačandišnih ut
- 10 vinartakih bavāt ut martōm zindakih vinārihāt apāk sačāk
- 11 patmānik x^varišn hast kē dārūk-ič ku tāk frēhih hač x^varišn
- 12 pat zōr i dārūk ōsānihāt kamih i hač x^varišn
- 13 pat ōz i dārūk hanbārihāt ut amēčišnik zōr ō patmān
- 14 rasāt ut āfurākān būtan kē-š jān pat dānākih ut tan
- 15 pat druvistih virāstan frahist jān zōrān pat ān i vinās
- 16 druvandih grifan amēčišnān pat ān i vimārih ut margih ut anē
- 17 pitiyārak vinastan nē sačēt ut tan-bižišk hač ruvān-bižišk hač
- 18 tan apāyišnik ruvān-bižiških i čār i hač vēh dēn
- 19 amōk ut ruvān-bižišk hač tan-bižišk apāyišnik niyāz-bēšāzih
- 20 tan-bēšāzih čār ut hač tan-bižiških amōk ut-šan harv
- 21 2 hač dahyupat apāyišnik āz anāhōkih i-šan pat
- 22 x^vēškārih ut ošmurišn i sahmān kē kār i tan-bižiških

DkM 170.

- 1 apar ēn-ič 5 tōhm bavišn ut vinārišn ut tačišn amēčišnik
- 2 ut hambavišnih ut vihirišn ut kaštakih ut nikārišn i patiš ut
- 3 zāyišn parvarišn ut čihr ut hōk ut dāt ut hangām ut šahr bižiških
- 4 tan-bižiških kunišn apar čahār zahakān i gēhān pat
- 5 pātan i hač vinastakih ut-aš fražāmišn pat ristakān i
- 6 tan frēhbūt ut apēbūt hačiš bē burtan pat
- 7 patmān vinārtan tan-druvistih ut ruvān-bižiških kunišn apar
- 8 čahār zōrān i jān pat huvap hamyōxt passāxtārihā hač brāta-
- 9 rōt hamēstār pānakih fražāmišn pat mēnišn gōḡišn ut kunišn hač
- 10 dušmat dušhūxt ut dušhumat pātārih i pat humat hūxt
- 11 ut huvaršt pairāstakih ruvānān bōžišn

APPENDIX III

DkM 352.

- 3 apar yatak-vihirih hač nikēž i vēhdēn
- 4 ēt āfurrišnik bavišn i fratom pat mēnōk frač dahišn

- 5 hamāk hambandišnih yatak-vihirih hast patvandān i gētik ō
- 6 ham-vihirišn i hač dēs a2vēnak ō a2vēnak karp ō karp
- 7 ut-aš ošmurišn ēn-ič 3 čihr-kārik ut kām-kārik
- 8 ut pat hamih <i> harv 2 ut ān i čihr-kārik čegōn ayōkšust hač
- 9 xāk ut urvar hač zamik ut āp ut urvarān bar hač urvarān bun
- 10 ut gōspandān šir ut hamist zindak x^vastak ut pih ut xōn ut pit ut
- 11 mō2 hač x^varišn i urvarān x^varišn i āp vihirišn ut apārik [i]
- 12 čegōn ēn ut kāmāk āpān čegōn nā2 ut *kēḡūt ut dar hač dār
- 13 ut drūgar¹ pat kām i drūgar ayālak ut [i] gōšvār ut angusta-
- 14 rik hač zarr i pat kām i zarrikar tāšišn apārik čegōn
- 15 ēn pat hamih i harv 2 čihr ut kām čegōn martōm hač čihr-
- 16 vihirišnik i hač zamik dō-om kāmik nišastak hač čihr-
- 17 vihirišnik hač zamik na2-šakar kāmik šakar ut hač
- 18 čihr-vihirišnik i hač zamik kunčit nām i kāmik rōyn
- 19 ut hamih <i> harv 2 nišastak šakar ut rōḡn pat hamih i hač
- 20 čihr-vihirišnik zamik kurkom kāmik pālūtak kunēd ān i
- 21 varčāvandik ut mēnōkik čegōn ān i apar yazdān varčāvand martōm
- 22 ut dēvān-ič ut yātūk mar karp *karp vartišn hač dēn pai2āk

DkM 353.

- 1 ēn bun parvandēt hamāk a2vēnak gētikik kērōkih čegōn
- 2 pešēnik ut dānāk gōḡišn ku yatak-vihirih harv kērōkih andar

APPENDIX IV

DkM 119.

- 18 apar gētik čē-š ut ō čē dahišnih ut-aš kār ut vimand
- 19 ut tōhmak ut dēsak ut a2vēnak ut karp ut zōr i-š bav-
- 20 išn ut vihān i-š [w] dahišn ut bavišn pat čē [w]
- 21 dahišn pat čē ō čē rasišnih i višōftakān ut
- 22 dit apāč āraštan ayāp nē vāt apāč āra2-

DkM 120.

- 1 ihītan pat ēn i nūn čihrenītak čihr apāč
- 2 āra2ihītan *āyōženītan i hastih i mēnōk i andar gētik
- 3 ut ō čē apāyišnih i mēnōk andar gētik ut vimand
- 4 i mēnōk ku gētik ut zōrōmand hast mēnōk apar vaχš
- 5 ut čihr ut mēnōk ut hamih i-šan ākanēn x^vētih i
- 6 ēvak hač dit ut apar mēnōk i yazdān dēvān ut ka2
- 7 harv dō mēnōk hand pat čē yudt hand hač
- 8 ākanēn ut čē gētik dahišnān ut peš ut pas

¹ *ḡ* *dwrg* from **dwrg* < **dwrg*, cf. BSOS vii. 281.

- 9 dahišnūh ut čegōn āstīšnūh ut vīnārišn ut
 10 gētik dahišnān pahlom ut gōhr ī dāmān ut-aš
 11 āhōkēnītakīh ku yōšdāsrihēt gēhān hač āhōk
 12 patiš yōšdāsrenītār ut apar nērōk kē gēhān
 13 patiš vīnartakīh ut gēhān *bundahišn ut fražām hač nīkēž
 14 ī vēhdēn
 15 ēt gētik hast gētik ī pat tanōmandīh vēnišnik ut
 16 gīrišnōmand ut-aš dahišn ō kōχšišnik oštāp ut oštāpāk
 17 ī χ^vat hast dahišn hamēstār-spōžih ut hampatvand ān ī
 18 yavētānik nēvak raβišnīh ut-aš kār ān ī aβiš dāt ut-aš
 19 ēn-ič paiḷākīh kaḷ nēst ut ēč gētik dahišnān kār ī brahnak
 20 hač oštāp-spōžih vīmand gētik vēnišnik ī gīrišnōmand
 21 čiš ut harv čē pat tan čašm vēnišnik ut pat dast
 22 gīrišnōmand gētik ut tōhmak ī gētik būtak ī hač dātār

DkM 121.

- 1 āfurrišn ut dahišn pat rās <ī> ōž aβzārih ut-aš dēnik
 2 dām bavišn ut nāmčīšt garm χ^vēt bun gētik dahišnān mātak-ič
 3 dānīhēt ut-aš dēsak ī fratom būtak ī pat dātār
 4 [w] *framān-kārih hač bavišn ut-aš dēnik nām bavišn-
 5 raβišnīh ut-aš nāmčīšt čahār zahakān ī hand vāt
 6 ātaχš āp gil bun gētiyān čīhr ut dēsak ī
 7 dītikār būtak ī pat dātār fražānak-kārihā hač bavišn-
 8 raβišnīh ut-aš nām bavišn-āstīšnīh ut-aš nāmčīšt
 9 čahār rastakān āmēčišn ī zīndakān dēsak ī sitīkar hač
 10 dātār aβd-kārih fravahr ut ruvān ham-ristakīh hamēnītār gētik
 11 ut-aš nāmčīšt martōm gōspand ut apārik zīndakān ī vēh
 12 čegōn dēsakōmand ī aβdom baχt ēstēnd ō [w] karpān ut
 13 karpān ō-ič avē and ēv-tāk zōr ī-š ēstēt ō-ič vihān ī
 14 yudtīh ī hamgōhr mat ēstēnd pat dōih hast anākīh hast-
 15 ān anāk hangartīkīh ōh-ič hastān anāk dō ēvak rasišn ī
 16 <ham>bitik girāk ī girt ēvak bažišn ī χ^vat *vēhik-ič ī
 17 hambavišn pat hamāk tōhmak-ič višōβišn pat bahr *vēhik ī
 18 karp gēhān bavēt ān ī višōβihēt apāč ō bun višāy-
 19 ihēt ristakān ō zahakān aḷvēnak ut karp ī yudt yudt ō
 20 dātār dāštār ī bun katak ut ō nēstīh nē rasēt dīt
 21 apāč āraḷihēt ān ī višōβihēt dēn paiḷākīh tan
 22 dātār nērōk ētōn šāyēt čegōn fratomih šāyastan karpān

DkM 122.

- 1 ī apāč āraḷēnd pat čīhrēnītakīh ī hač apēčak bun yudt
 2 hand hač ēn ī čīhrēnītak hač aβīgat hand gumēčak bun ham

- 3 hand ēn karp pat apāč ārōpišnīh ī-šān ristak ī
 4 yudt yudt pat dātār visp-ākāsīh visp-tuvānīh hač zahakān ī
 5 patgriftan dārēnd rastakān ut aḷvēnak karp andar gētik
 6 mēnōktar-ič hast ruvān andar tan ut jān andar ruvān ō dārā-
 7 kih ut rāḷēnākīh ī gētik apāyišnik mēnōk andar gētik čegōn
 8 jān tan zīvāk ut bē tan vēnākēnāk ut ruvān tan rāḷēnāk
 9 ut vīmand ī mēnōk andar gētik čegōn jān tan zīvēnak bē tan v-
 10 ēnāk ān ī nē ... ihēt 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 pat ... išnān 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 vēnīhēt
 pat
 11 jān vēnišn harv čē nē ... ihēt 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 pat tan ... išnān
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥
 12 vēnīhēt pat jān vēnišn mēnōk hast ut mēnōk vīnart
 13 čegōn ruvān vas zōr-ič čegōn vīr oš ut χrat ut jān zōrān ī
 14 jān ruvān ham hand ruvān vaχš ut čīhr pat ān ī harv
 15 sē mēnōk hand ut yudt hand ruvān fravahr kē vaχš
 16 pat ān ī ruvān ut fravaš gētik-ič hand ut vaχš pat gētik
 17 ut yudt hand ruvān ut fravahr ēvak hač dīt pat ān ī
 18 ruvān kāmākōmand kāmīk-kār fravahr čīhrōmand ut
 19 čīhrik-kār ut yudt hast jān hač ruvān pat ān ī kaḷ
 20 ruvān-χratīh ī vaχš ut vaχš nērōk ī pat ruvān yudt hand
 21 harv dō-ē pat vičīn[ēt]-kārīh apar kār ī vaχš ut χrat-ič
 22 vičīnkarihā ut ān ī fravahr čīhr aḷiyār vēš

DkM 123.

- 1 patiš ut ān ī ruvān kāmīk-kārīh-ič ī [w] yudt hast ruvān hač
 2 fravahr čīhr ut vaχš ruvān-vīnārtārīh fravahr ut vaχš
 3 vīnartak hand hač ruvān ut amāvand ākanēn pat ān ī kaḷ pat hēm
 4 rasišn ī harv sē apāk uštānōmand vāt ī hast
 5 *jān vīnārišn ī martōm bavēt fravahr pat ātaχš
 6 čīhr uštānēnāk ī vāt pat vāt uštānīh
 7 zīvēnītār ī tan ruvān andar tanōmandīh pat vaχšōmand bōḷ
 8 apākīh vēnākēnāk rāḷēnāk ī tan ut ham hand bē vaχš
 9 pat mēnōkīh [y] vīnārtār ī hast ī avešan amāvand harv
 10 pat martōm vīnārtārīh ut pat-ič ān hamīh ī fravahr ut vaχš-
 11 ōmand hē vitart tan apāk ahrav ruvān yudt hand bē
 12 fravahr hač ruvān kaḷ ruvān druvandīhītak-ič ut bōḷ fravahr druvand
 13 ut-aš višānīhēnd ut yazdān dēvān hastīh dēn paiḷākīh apar
 14 yazdān hastīh vēh vaχš <ī> hast χrat-ič apar dēvān
 15 hastīh vattārīh vaχš ī hast varan-ič ī andar martōmān tan
 16 hačapar ān ī paiḷākīh gukāyīh ētōn harv dō mēnōk
 17 hand ut pat-ič yudt vīmandīh yudtar hand hač ākanēn čē ut vīmand
 <ī>

- 18 yazdān mēnōk ī zivandak ī amarg ī dānāk ut vīmand ī dēvān kē tāk
 19 zivandak ī dušmarg ī dušākās ut-šan ahravān druvand ruvān
 20 martōm ahrav ruvān pat yazdān ham <v>īmandīh hač ān ī kaḏ
 zivandak
 21 ī dānāk ī amarg ruvān pat ahravīh yazdān ut druvand ruvān hač ham-
 22 vīmandīh ī apāk dēv hač ān ī kaḏ zivandak ī dušākās

DkM 124.

- 1 ī margōmand ruvān pat druvandīh dēv ham-vīmand apar hastih ī
 2 harv dō hačapar ān gukāyih gukāy ut-šan yazdān mānāk-ič
 3 dānāk dēv ut druž mānāk ī dušākās martōmihā apar
 4 hastih ī harv 2 dānākīh ī andar martōm bun yazdān ut dušā-
 5 kāsīh patiš bun dēn hačapar hamāk ān gukāyih gukāy ut
 6 gētik dahišnān hangartikīh hand dahišn asmān āp ut zamīk
 7 ut urvar ut gōspand ut martōm ut asmān patiš dāt paiḏāk dit
 8 āp pat sāčāk hamdārišnih ī vāt nērōkih apar vay mēnōk
 9 asmān gōhr dit zamīk ut dit urvar ut dit gōspand ut aḏdom martōm
 10 ut-šan pat-ič andarōn asmān bētom ī-šan visp ō [w] hamāk
 11 apar hambun dēsitan paiḏāk āp tišn vistarišn andar hamāk vay
 12 ī hačāḏar ī star pāḏak ut aḏar ut apar hām pērāmōn zamīk apar-ič
 13 āp nērōk griftakīh vīnartīh urvar apar zamīk rustakīh gōspand
 14 pat urvar ut martōm pat-ič gōspand aḏiyārīh ut gētik dahišnān
 15 pahlom martōm andar martōmān avē ī huḡvātāy dahyupāt
 16 bun gētik ī gēhān baḡtak ī hukar rōšn-dātār nazdtom
 17 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 čand patvand pairōk tāk hač ān rōšn brēh ī hač ān pai-
 18 rōk bām ī hač ān brēh tāk-ič ō ras ut hač ras pat dātār
 19 āfurrišn rasitak ō bavišn garm ḡvēt gētik dahišnān fratom
 20 bun hač dahišn garm ḡvēt bavišn-raḡišnih <ī> zahakān čahār ī
 21 hast vāt ātaḡš āp gil hač bavišn-raḡišnih
 22 bavišn-āstišnih aḏvēnakān ī amēxtak ut hač zahakān aḏvēnakān

DkM 125.

- 1 baḡtak ō karpān karpān vičārtak pat-ič avē aḏdom gētik dahišnān
 2 kē patiš hangartikīhēt gētik dahišnān āhōkēnitakīh <ī> gēhān rāḏ
 3 hač ḡvātīh ī anāhōk gōhr ī gēhān ut anāhōk kār <ī> dātār
 4 ōhrmazd bē hač āhōkēnitārīh ī hamāk āhōk aḡigat ut gēhān
 5 hač āhōk yōšdāsrenītārīh pat bē burt ī hačīš āhōkēnitār
 6 aḡigat šāyēt ān yōšdāsrankarīh ī dātār ī gēhān pat jān
 7 sūtōmandān aḡzārīh paiḏākīh ut amargīh ī pat tan ī pasēn
 8 ī kēšdārān patiš hamdāstāstānih pat anāhōkīh ī gēhān
 9 sāyēt ut nērōk kē gēhān patiš <v>īnartakīh apāk gētik
 10 ḡvātīh ut hamgōhrān hamīh pat dātār nēv kām ut wyčumānik kār

- 11 nē-č hačīš <v>āzēnitārān artāy fravart vāzišnih rōšnān ī-š
 12 andar aḡzārīh ōž ut gētik *vindišn handāčišn brīn ī dātār
 13 patiš pat handēšišn ī apar aḡigat vānitārīh ut dāmān
 14 nēvak-barišnih čār ut gētik fražām mat ō spurrikīh ī ān ī
 15 dātār patiš vinast aḡigat vānitārīh ut hām dahišn nēvak-
 16 raḡišnih pat kartan

APPENDIX V

Zātspram 29.

- apar passāčišn ī martōmān hač tan jān ut ruvān
 1 ku humānāk hast tan kē-š passāčišnān hand gōšt ut astak ut pīh
 apārīk ō ḡanak kē-š passāčišn hač gil ut sang ut dār apārīk
 2 frač vaḡšēnitār fravahr kē dast pāḏ vaḡšēnēt ut narīh ut mātakīh
 paiḏākēnēt ut ray ut pīh passāčēt ut astān ō ham barēt ut rās
 vitarak paiḏākēnēt ī dar rōčen višāyēt bē ō rāz ī kērōk kē katak
 dēsēt
 3 ut jān kē tan zivandak dārēt bē ō ātaḡš ī andar gumbat apar gās
 nišānd
 4 ut ēt rāḏ čē čēgōn ātaḡš mānišn apar ātur-gās ut pat hamāk kustakān
 patiš bē rasēnēt brēh ut patrōk pat dar bē aḡkanēt ō srāyān
 dītārīhēt ut ḡvēš pat ḡvarišn zivēt kaḏ hač ḡvarišn frač mānēt nizār
 apātiyāvand šavēt fratom kustakān ī gumbatān aḡsarēnd kaḏ
 bavandak bē aḡsart hamāk gumbat sart bavēt ān-ič brēh rōšnākīh
 ī vēnihēt avēnaḡḏāk bavēt hamgōnak jān gōhr rōšnih ut garmīh
 ut-aš māništ andar dil čēgōn ātaḡš apar ātur-gās ut ḡōn andar
 rayān vitāḡtak hamāk tan garm dārēt brēh patrōk apar barēt pat
 2 rōčan ī apar sar ī ḡvēš hand čašmān bē aḡkanēt vēnākīh ī čašmān
 hanbōḏākīh ī vēnikān ut ašna<v>ākīh ī gōšān ut mičakgārīh ī dahān
 ut ptrmāyākīh ī tanān ut yumbākīh ī aḏvēnik hač hamčīhr
 5 ut-aš vīnārīšn ī zivandak pat ḡvarišnān āp ātaḡš ī andar tan vičārtak
 patmānik pat ān ristak *nišāndārīh čēgōn kaḏ dēy-ē ḡvarišn sāxtan
 rāḏ kē-š ḡvarišn āp andar hačapar ātaḡš nihātak ut ātaḡš hač bēron
 āp hač andarōn tāpēt tāk ḡvarišn bē ō patmān rasēt ān ī apāyišnik
 hač dēy bēron girīhēt
 6 čē kumik humānāk hast ī dēy ḡvarišn ut āp andarōn dārēt pat
 *škambak ātaḡš aḏvēnihā tāpīhēt kaḏ ō sahmān ī ḡvēš mat pat zōr
 ī čīhr ān ī rōšn ī zōhrōmand bē ō yakar āhanjēt hač yakar pat
 rayān ray pat *ḡōn bē ō sar ut apārīk tan raḡēnēt ut apar mazg ī
 sar aḡzōn bavēt vēnākīh ī čašmān ut apārīk šnāsakān hačīš dast-ič
 pāḏ hačīš zōhr patgīrēt ut ān ī anapāyišnik pat zōr ī spōžākīh
 bē ō bēron spōžēt aḏdom frač vitirīšnih ī jān aḡvartārīh anē nizārīh
 jānik ātaḡš hač ham bē aḡsart ī dast ut pāḏ ut ul hanjēt ī hač dil

- ut sart bavēt ī hač hamāk tan yudt bun ī rōšnākīh ī čašmān pat ham humānākīh ī aḡsartan ī ātaḡš
- 7 ut spāhpat ruvān ī ḡvātāy ut rāḏēnītār[yh] ī tan kē-š ḡvēš rat *buništ patiš humānāk ō ātaḡš vaḡšēnītār kē gumbat pāk druvisť pat nikirišn dāštan ut ātaḡš aḡrōḡtan andar ḡvēškārīh
- 8 ut ān ī kaḏ tan ḡuftak ruvān bēronihēt hast ī kaḏ nazdik hast ī kaḏ dūr bē šavēt hērān nikirēt pat vigrātākīh hangām apāč ō tan šavēt pat ān humānākīh ī čēgōn kaḏ ātaḡš vaḡšītāk ātaḡš vaḡšītār pat-aš nazdik ēstēt ḡvēškārīh kaḏ ātaḡš nihuft dar ī gumbat bast hast ī kaḏ nazdik hast kaḏ dūr šavēt
- 9 bē čēgōn ātaḡš gētiyān gumbat hač passāčišn ī gētiyān ut ātaḡš vaḡšēnītār martōm ut jān mēnōk pat āfurrišn ī hač dātār rāḏēnītār ī tan ruvān ī mēnōkik pat hamāk čim bōžišn vāspuhrakānīh(ā) aḏvēnak bē kart pat-ič ačārik-dānišnīh bē ō čim-ḡvāstārān nimūtan nē šāyēt
- 10 bē mēnōk ō gētikikān pat čim ut handāčak humānāk *nišānak ī nē šāyēt būt šāyēt¹ nimūtan
- 11 ōgōn čēgōn kaḏ mart-ē pat būm ī hindūkān karg-ē ī ēvak-sruv dīt ut-aš grift bē ō ērān-šahr ānīt nē tuvān būt ut-aš nimūtan ī ō ērān-šahrīkān rāḏ apar dīvār pat patkar nēvak ham humānāk bē nikārt

Zātspram 30.

apar passāčišn ī martōmān

- 1 ku-š humānākīh ōgōn martihā <čēgōn> asmānik spihr ī gartišnik ī hast 4 mēḡ ī harv mēḡ-ē[y] 3 aḡtar čē hamist passāčišn ī martōmān mātakarvīhā pat 3 ī hast tanīk ut jānīk ut ruvānīk
- 2 harv ēvak ē 3 bažišn
- 3 tanīk 3 ī hast tanīkartīk ut āpīk ut vātīk
- 4 tanīkartīk pat 7 tōf uspurriki hast ī hast ān ī andartom mazg pērāmōn mazg ast ut pērāmōn ast gōšt ut pērāmōn gōšt pīh ut pērāmōn pīh ray ut pērāmōn ray pōst pērāmōn pōst mōḏ
- 5 ut niyāpīhēt mazg ō mäh kē-š pitiyārak mäh ī apāḡtarīk kē čēgōn mäh bay pat vaḡšīšn hangām druvisť-čīhrakīhā aḡzōn apar mazgān kunēt mäh ī apāḡtarīk bē vināsišn andar apāḡtarān parisť ī andar-ōntom dārēt
- 6 ut hačapar mäh tīr ut-aš mēhmānīh apar ast
- 7 ut hačapar tīr anāhīt ut-aš mēhmānīh apar gōšt
- 8 hačapar anāhīt mihr ut-aš mēhmānīh apar pīh
- 9 ut hačapar mihr varhrān ut-aš mēhmānīh apar ḡonīk ray
- 10 hačapar varhrān ōhrmazd ut-aš mēhmānīh apar pōst hučīhrgar ī tanān

¹ Transposed from *šāyēt būt*.

- 11 hačapar ōhrmazd kaivān ut-aš mēhmānīh apar mōḏ
- 12 ut-aš ēn hast nikārak

kaivān	mōḏ
ōhrmazd	pōst
varhrān	ray ¹
mihr	pīh
anāhīt	gōšt
tīr	ast
mäh	mazg
ast	gōšt
gōšt	ast
pīh	ray
ray	pīh
pōst	mōḏ
	mōḏ

- 13 gartišn ī mäh pat mäh-ē tīr <pat> 3 mäh anāhīt pat 6 mäh ut nēm mihr pat sāl ē varhrān pat sāl ē ut nēm ōhrmazd <pat> 12 sāl kaivān <pat> 30 sāl
- 14 āp andar tan mātakarvīhā 4 ī hast <ḡōn> ut drēm ut viš ī suḡr ut viš ī syāh
- 15 ḡōn gōhr garm ut ḡvēt ut-aš gōn suḡr ut-aš mičak širēn ut-aš katak pat yakar drēm sart ḡvēt ut gōn spēt mičak sōr ut-aš katak pat suš viš ī suḡr garm hušk ut gōn suḡr ō zartīh vartišnik ut-aš mičak tahl ut-aš katak pat zahrak ut viš ī syāh sart hušk ut-aš gōn syāh ut-aš mičak truš ut-aš katak pat spul
- 16 pēšōpāḏ hač āmēčišnān ḡōn ō yakar šavēt ut pas andar ayārtēnišn² kaf bē sar aḡkanēt aḏak-aš činēt ut bē ō drēm gōhrēnēt pas zahrak ī hačapar yakar bē ēstēt ān ī bārik ī tēž ul āhanjēt bē ō viš ī suḡr bavēt bāstān dahān višāt dārēt viš ī suḡr apar kumīk rēčēt ī ḡvarišn gukārēt pas staḡrīh ī apāč mānēt frōt ō spuhl aḡsānīhēt³ bē ō viš ī syāh bavēt
- 17 pas hač ēn harv 4 āmēčišnān tōhmakān kē pat bālist sar andar mazg gās pat ān ray pat pušt apar šavēt zōhr-ē ī hač harv 4 passāḡtīh rāḏ patmānakīk apāč ō yakar āhanjēt hač hamāk karp <ī> tan ē pat zōhr-ē apar činēt andar čīhrak ōstīkān bē kunēt pat tōhm aḏvēnak frāč rēčīhēt ut-aš bavišn ut zāyišn ī martōmān hačiš bavēt
- 18 ān 4 āmēčišn ī yudt-čīhrak yudt-kār bē ō 4 pēšak martōm ī hand āmōčkar asrōn ut zatār aratēštār ut parvartār vāstryōš paristār hutuḡš

¹ Beside *ray pīh gōšt ast mazg* are written *pīh ray ast gōšt ast* respectively.² *ayārtēnitak* renders Av. *yaēš-* 'boil', cf. DkM 426. 18; DkM 643. 4, 19 *ayārtīt* 'tormented', Manich. Mid.Pers. 'y'rd-.³ **apa-sān-* to base *san-* 'rise', cf. 30. 51.

- 19 tōhmak apar avēšan čegōn šahriyār 4 pēšakān
 20 ēt-ič rāḏ dahyupatān pušt ī ērān xʷānihēt ī čē čegōn tōhmak hač hamāk *karpān ī tanān zōhr-ē ō xʷēš āhanjēt ut pat frač rēčišnih dayšak <ī> kālput-ē ham humānāk hačiš dārihēt ōgōn amara-kānihā katār-ič-ē ō dāt rās kāmāk kart ī dahyupat varzēnd
 21 vāt katak pat dil ētōn čihrakihā nē garm nē sart pat ātaχš ī andar dil kē-š sartih ut xʷētiḥ ī hač suš apāk amēxtak ham-aḏvēnak pat-mānikihā bē tāpēt ut hamāk tan garm dārēt *aβzārān<ī>tan ham-ič ōgōn patiš frač raβēnd čegōn tačākān āp pat vāt kaḏ pat tāpišn <ī> ātaχš ī hač dil frēh hač patmān garm bavēt ān pat nērōk ī ul āhang pat gōpišn bē ō bēron tačēt ut hač fravahr ī andarvāḏ *andarōn-aš patgīrēt ut pat frōt āhang apāč ō dil šavēt pat patgīrišn aβspārišn ī patmānik zōhr vāt ī *parvartih zivandak dārēt tan
 22 jānik 3 hast jān bōḏ fravahr
 23 ut jān rōšn garm ut hamgōhr ī ātaχš pēšōpāḏ apāk tōhm ī ātaχš-tōhmak andar ō gās šavēt 4-om mäh pat tāpišn ī pat kālput ī tan paiḏāk bavēnd fratom čašmān nikārihēt ut ātaχšayik rōšnīh ī xʷēš pat čašmān ō dītār aβurihēt pas bavandak-dahišnih ī sar pat apartomih mazg gās kunēt dītikar pat ātaχš aḏvēnak bē ō dil šavēt ut-aš ōḏ ōstān ī mātakvar hast sitikar hač ham-baχšišn ātaχš-karpihā frōt ō kumik šavēt ōḏ gās-ē bē kunēt ut harv 3 pat *ham-bandih bē vīnārēt čē fratom xʷarišnān xʷarišnān zivandak-gar ī jānān andar ō kumik šavēt pat patkār ī haurdāt amurdāt ātaχš bē aβrōčēt hač ōḏ brēh apar ō dil šavēt ātaχš ī andar dil zōrōmand bē kunēt ut hač dil vāt ī garmōk ī ēvak-čihrak jān ī pat 4 ātaχš ī andar tan gās dārēt
 24 ut-šan yudt yudt xʷēškāriḥ paiḏāk
 25 čē hač ān ī andar mazg sar baχšihēnd . . . išnān 𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯 ī hand vēnākīh ut ašna<v>ākīh ut hanbōḏākīh ut čāš<ā>kiḥ
 26 ut ān ī dil mātiyān kār pat vāt ī ul-āhang ut frōt-āhang pat ātaχš ī vazurk tāftan ī hamāk tanān yumbišn ē [y] humānāk hač ham-zōhr
 27 ut ān ī andar kumik bē baχtan ō 4 zōhr ī hast āhanjak ut girāk ut gukārāk ut spōžāk
 28 humānāk hast zōhr ī āhanjak kē xʷarišnān xʷarišnān andar ō kumik xʷēšik katak āhanjēt čegōn kār-framān kē aβzār <ī> gōšt <ut> xʷarišnān xriṇēt bē ō xānak frēstēt
 29 ut girāk hač sūlāk kē kumik tāpēt ut āp ī rōšn ī zōrōmand apar činēt ut ō 4 baχšēt ut xōn <ō> yakar ut drēm ō suš ut viš ī suxr ō zahrak ut viš ī syāh ō spul āyēt ō xʷarišn-baχš
 30 spōžāk bē ō giyāk-rōp
 31 ut ēn 4 ātaχš ān ī andar sar asrōn-čihrak ut-aš ātur-farnbay aḏiyārtar

- ān ī kumik dil aratēštār-čihrak ut-aš ātur-gušnasp aḏiyārtar ut ān ī andar kumik vāstryōš-čihrak ut-aš ātur-burzēn-mihr aḏiyārtar
 32 bōḏ andar jān gumēxtak <ī> jān mārišn ī vičitārihā hač bōḏ vēš apāk ruvān tanik zōhr kaḏ tan ēt kunēt jān andar tan ruvān bēron ut bōḏ miyān ī avēšan paiḏāmbarih kunēt ut ākāsih hač ruvān patgīrēt ut ō jān nimāyēt jān ō nikāspat ōš aβspārēt ut aβdom kaḏ tan vitirēt ātaχš-suxriḥ rāḏ kaḏ hač zamik bē ō mēnōk šavēt fratom ō ātaχš gumēxtēt ut ān 3 rōč ī pas hač marg pat nazdikih ī tan pātāk ō kālput ī tan ham-ē nikirēt patiš griḏēt ut kaḏ sak ut vay frač šavēnd ut tan drīnit kāmēnd frač tarsēt ōgōn čegōn mēš hač gurg ut ō sak ut vay patkārēt ku ma ēn ī man karp frač xʷarēt kē-m ōhrmazd aβdom-ič apāč kunēt pat tan ī pasēn
 33 šap ī sitikar andar bām ī rōšn ī tan ī druvand kaḏ ēvak hač dit frač vartēnd ruvān ō bōḏ patkārēt ku bē tō bōḏ šavēh bē ō ān ī pahlom aχʷān bē man ōḏ frač hilet
 34 hakar ahrav apāk hač yazdān bahr ī kartārān xʷāhēt čegōn ham-āfrās ut ham-dastaβar kē pat ārtik fražām apāk spāhpat bē ō dar ī šahriyār šavēt ut dahišn ī huafrāsišn vindēt
 35 frač vaχšēnitār fravahr apāk tōhm andar ō gās šavēt ut pat ham gām hač tōhmih bē ō gumēčakih ut hač gumēčakih bē ō frēh-xōnih vartēnēt ut-aš pas-ič čašm ut apārik handāmān dārēt ut pas [ḏ] puštīhast hač pušt pahlūk frač vaχšēnēt čegōn tākān pat spēžišn hač draxt ut pas aβzārān ī andarōnik aškamb kōtak pat xʷēškāriḥ paiḏāk bē kunēt ut pas dast pāḏ angustān bē rōḏenēt hač sar mazg bē ō angustān raβēnd čegōn ān ī aβsart suxr pas mičak bēron vars nikārēt ut-aš mātakvarihā kār 3 ī hast vaχšēnitān aβzūtan pātān vaχšēnitān ān ī čegōn kaḏ dast ut pāḏ apārik handāmān ī aβzārik pat vaχšišn bē ō dītār aβpurēt aβzūtan ān ī kaḏ and ham-ē aβzāyēt tāk bē spurrikih sahmān pātān ān ī kaḏ ōstikānihā pat xʷēš sahmān gās pāyēt
 36 dānišnik 3 vīr xʷāhēt ōš pāyēt ut xrat vičīnēt
 37 ruvānik 3 ī hast ruvān ī andar tan ruvān ī bēron ruvān ī pat mēnōkān aχʷān
 38 ruvān ī tanik čegōn tan-ič xʷānihēt čē xʷēš mēnōk ī tan hast spāhpat humānāk ī ō *dušmanān razm frēstihēt ut-aš hamāk spāh aβzārān ristakōmand dāstan xʷēškāriḥ ut im hast kē mēnēt ut gōpēt ut varzēt kāmāk hast ī kaḏ-aš frārōn pat huīh ut hast ī kaḏ-aš apārōn pat duših ut im [h] hast kē pat hukunišnih pātdahišn ut pat duškunišnih pātrās mēnōkik hampatmānihā apāč nimāyēt ut-aš *buništ pat 2 ku dānišnōmand ut tuvān nērōk būt ut-aš dānišn tuvān nē čimikihā bē ō kār burtan ayāp-aš xʷāḏišn <ī> pursišn būt ut-aš nē xʷāst andar adēnih *parvand raft čegōn mahist parvānak ī ō dōšaχʷ

- 52 kaḷ tan viturt šap ī sitikar andar bām [y] avē ī ahrav fratom vāt karp
hač nēmroč rōšnān ālak čēgōn hubōḷatom vāt jān bē ō patirak
āyēt ān vāt ētōn dil ī ō šātih kē mizdak ī vahištik dārēt pas āp karp
ut urvar karp pat aḷvēnak ī bōḷastān humānāk ī āpōmand ī vas
nihāl ī pur-škōf bē ēstēt kē-š ruvān andar frāč raβēt pas kanik karp
ut mart karp ut pas gāv karp ī spēt nar ut mātak pas ātaḡš karp
kē-š pat činvat pul frāč vitārēt ut tom ut tār ī dōšaḡvīk zanēt ut
pas kōf humānāk bē ēstēt kē-š ruvān patiš apāč uzīt ut pas
ayōkšust kōf ut sang karp pat humānākīh ī gās ī zarrēn kart aβdom
zamīk karp kē-š mām bavēt ī yavētānik
- 53 pas ēn 12 mēnōkān ham-karrōkīhā ō ham passācihēnd
- 54 pēšōpāḷ zamīk mām humānāk bavēt ī vas katak ī bāmīk kē-š katak
andarōn bēron ut aškōf hačaḷarik hačaparīk čēgōn ō čīhr-sāciš-
niktom ut ruvān vazurk-urvāhmantom
- 55 ut pas āp karp ut urvar karp pat aḷvēnak ī bōḷastān humānāk bē ēstēt
čašmak čašmak aβīš tāčān hacīš frāč tāčēnd gōnak gōnak hač visp
urvar karpān gul bōḷ nihāl ut škōf spēžihēnd ut bar pazzāmēnd
- 56 ut-aš ātaḡš karp andar mām pēš frāč vaḡšēt ut hamēšak bōḷ ī hač
hubōḷān urvarān hacīš frāč damēnd ut sag karp ayōkšust karp
bē ō vas āpīk gōhrān ayōkšustān vartēt kē-š mām patiš hučīhr ut
*huniyāk bavēt ut yamakān ut pairāḷakān ī pat vas-čīhrakīhā
tāšītak hač ham baḡšīšn andar mām paiḷāk bavēnd
- 57 gōspand karp ō 5 aḷvēnak vasān sarḷakān vartēt pat būm čahārpāḷān
andar āp māmīk ut <andar> andarvāḷ murv karp bavēnd pat huīh
ī ḡvaš ruvān urvāhmēnānd
- 58 ut čēgōn zivandakān hač pēm gōšt urvāhmānīh <ī> ruvān hač
gōspandān karpān pēm frāč dōšihēt ut rōyn ut apārik vas gōnak
haciš bavīhēnd ōgōn ku gōspand karp nē ašātīh ut hač gōspand
murv karpīh bē ō gōšt karpīh hač gōšt karpīh apāč gōspand murv
karpīh andar vartišn hand
- 59 vāt pat aḷvēnak čīhrakīhā frāč hast andar mām bōḷastān čašmak ī
āpān hač visp kustakān bē ō ruvān barēt
- 60 mart karp vas karpīhā ō ruvān paiḷāk bavēt hast kaḷ pat čīhrak ī
*mātarān čēgōn pit apar frazandān hast kaḷ pat dāt ī miyān čēgōn
brāt apāk brātārān ut hast kaḷ pat rāh ī apurnāyīkān čēgōn pus
andar pitarān hast ī kaḷ pat aḷvēnak hambrātakān čēgōn ham-āfrās
ham-mizd
- 61 ētōn-ič kanīk karp pat čīhr <ī> kanīkān hast ī kaḷ čēgōn mātār ut
hast ī kaḷ čēgōn ḡvāhar hast ī kaḷ čēgōn pūsar hast ī kaḷ čēgōn
nāirīk ut hast ī kaḷ čēgōn parīštišngar apārik rāmēnākān

APPENDIX VI

DkM 437.

- 9 . . . nāmčīštīk
- 10 čīšān ī andar zamānakīhā pas [pas] mat ut rasīt ī hacīš
- 11 vizandkarān čēgōn alaksandar [y] ayrēraθ zatār markūs ut dahāk
- 12 ut apārik vizandkarān virravišn-vālān-ič mašīh ut māmē ut apārik
- 13 ōβāmīhā čēgōn pōḷaβaḷēn ut āsen apar-gumēxt apārik dēn
- 14 ārāstārān vīnārtārān āpurtārān čēgōn artaḡšahr
- 15 āturpāt husrau ut pīšīšōθn ōšētar ōšētarmāh
- 16 sōkšāns apārikān ut rastak kunišn nišānīhā andar ōβām
- 17 ōβām ō paiḷākīh mat ut rasīt ēt čē zāmāsp hač ān ī
- 18 zartuhšt āmōk bē guft ut hast ī nipišt yomāy apastāk ut
- 19 zand ī pat gāv pōstiyānīhā ut zarr nipišt ēstāt pat
- 20 ganj ī ḡvātāyān dāšt dahyupatān ut dastaβārān hacīš būt ī
- 21 vēš paččēn kart pas-ič ō-ič ākāsān ut vināsitārān-ič hacīš
- 22 hast ī mat būt <ī> yudt-dātastānīh yudt-vēnišnīh apar burt

APPENDIX VII

DkM 405. K 43, 2 r 18 ff.

- 12 ēt dēn-kart nipēk kartak hast ī hač visp-dānākīh
- 13 pēsīt dēn māzdēsni paiḷākīh ut ḡvāstūk kartak ī hač
- 14 vēh dēn poryōtkēšān ī vaḡšavar yašt-fravahr spitāmān
- 15 zartuhšt fratom havišt pat pursišt ut ašnavišt ī hač ham
- 16 yašt-fravahr vēh-dēn paiḷākīk dānišn ākāsīh ī apar
- 17 har dar hangōšītak rōšnīh ī hač bun rōšn ān bun pursišt
- 18 vičīr ī dahyupat burzāvand kai vištāsp nipēkēnit bun ut bun ī
- 19 ganj ī 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤 aβspārt ut paččēn passačakīhā vistartan framūt
- 20 ut hač pas paččēn ō diz ī nipišt frēstīt ut ōḷ-ič
- 21 dāšt ākāsīh andar vizand ī hač mar ī duḡḡarrāh alaksandar
- 22 ō ērān šahr dēn ḡvātāyīh mat ān ī pat diz ī nipišt

DkM 406.

- 1 ō sōčišn ān ī pat ganj ī 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤¹ ō dast ī hrōmāyān
- 2 mat ut-aš ō-ič *yōnāyīk uzvān vičārt ut pat ākāsīh ī
- 3 hač pēšēnikān patvastak avē bay artaḡšahr šāhān
- 4 šāh ī pāpakān mat ut ō apāč-ārāstārīh <ī> ērān
- 5 ḡvātāyīh ham nipēk hač pargandakīh ō ēvak giyāk āpurt
- 6 ut poryōtkēš ahrav tansar ī ērpat² būt apar mat ut

¹ K 43, 2 v 8 𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤.² K 43, 2 v 12 ērpatān ērpat.

- 7 apāk paiḷākīh hač apastāk apāč handāxt hač ān paiḷākīh
 8 bavandakēnītan framūt ut hamgōnak kart hangōšītak [hač] brēh hač¹
 9 bun rōšn pat ganj ī 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 dāstan paččēn passačakīhā frax²-
 10 ēnītan framūt ākāsīh ut pas hač vizand višōḇišn hač
 11 tāčīkān ō-ič divān ut ganj ī kišvar mat hufravart āturpāt ī
 12 āturfarnbay ī farraḡ³zātān ī hudēnān pēšōpāḷ būt ān
 13 paččēn ī kustakīhā pargandak būt navak apzār hač pargandakīh
 14 apāč ō hamih <ī> divān ī-š dar āḇurt andar nikīrišn handāč-
 15 išn ī ō veh-dēn apistāk ut zand poryōtkēšan gōḇišn hangō-
 16 šītak pairōk ī hač ān brēh apāč kart pat škaft *arm²
 17 vizand ō zartuhšt ī āturfarnbayān ī hudēnān pēšōpāḷ
 18 būt jast ān-ič divān ō višōḇišn ut ān nipēk visistakīh
 19 ut pargandakīh ut-aš ō-ič kahvanīh nastakīh ut pūtakīh mat
 20 hač ān pas az āturpāt ī aḷmētān ī hudēnān pēšōpāḷ
 21 hač yazdān nisvārišn dēn māzdēsn aḷiyārihišniḥ navak apzār
 22 pat x³ālišn ut vičōlišn³ ut ranj ī vēš ham nipišt čē hač ān

DkM 407.

- 1 visāndak ut zruftak ut sūtak ut xāk-āmēk divān apāč vindit

DkM 411.

- 15 . . . rāy-ič <ī> dahyupātān dēn
 16 vāḇar-dēnikān dahyupātīh amāvand dāstan mahist-varčihā apar
 17 tuxšēnd dahyupātān dāt ut aḷvēn ut-šan aḷvēn dēnik višt-
 18 āsp šāh kaḷ hač kārīčār ī apāk aržāsp pardayt
 19 būt ō sar-x³atāyān apar patgraftan ī dēn frēstak ut
 20 nipēkīhā ī hač visp-dānākīh pēsīt māzdēsn dēn pat vas
 21 aḷvēnak apzār ut frahang būt ī ham-ič kār ī frahayt-
 22 uzvān mayūkmart apāk frēstīt sačīt nūn aržāsp ut apārik ī

DkM 412.

- 1 hač bē x³aniras pat dēn-pursišniḥ ō frašōstr āmat
 2 hand spur-ākāsīhā visēḷ kart
 3 dārāy ī dārāyān hamāk apastāk ut zand čēgōn zartuh-
 4 št hač ōhrmazd patgraft nipištak 2 paččēn ēvak pat ganj ī
 5 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 ēvak pat diz ī nipišt dāstan framūt valayš ī
 6 ašakānān apastāk ut zand čēgōn apēčakīhā andar āmat ēstāt
 7 āmōk-ič ī hačīš harv čē hač vizand ut āšōft-kārīh ī alaksandar
 8 ut aḷvār ut rōp ī hrōmāyān andar ērān šahr pargandakīhā

¹ K 43, 2 v 14 brēh ī bun rōšn.² K 43, 2 v 20 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥.³ K 43, 3 r 4 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥.

- 9 apar nipištak tāk čē uzvān-aḇspārišnik pat dastaḇar mānd
 10 ēstāt andar šahr čēgōn frāč mat ēstēt nikās dāstan
 11 ō šahrīhā aḇiyātkār kartan framūt avē bay artaxšahr
 12 šāhān šāh ī pāpakān pat rāst-dastaḇariḥ <ī> tansar ān-ič āmōk ī
 13 pargandak ut hamāk ō dar x³ast tansar apar mat ān ī ēvak
 14 frāč patgraft ut apārik hač dastaḇar hišt ut ēn-ič framān
 15 dāt ku frāč ō amāk harv nikēzišn <ī> hanē bavēt hač dēn
 16 māzdēsn čē nūn-ič ākāsīh ut dānišn hačīš frōt nēst
 17 šāhpuhr ī šāhān šāh ī artaxšahrān nipēkīhā-ič ī hač
 18 dēn bē apar biziškiḥ ut star-gōḇišniḥ vičandišn ut zamān giyāk ut
 19 gōhr dahišn bavišn vināsišn yatak-vihīriḥ ut gavākīh ut apārik
 20 kērōkiḥ ut apzār andar hindūkān ut hrōm apārik-ič zamikīhā par-
 gandak
 21 būt apāč ō ham āḇurt ut apāk apastāk apāč handāxt ut
 22 harv ān ī druvist paččēn ō ān ganj ī 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 dāt

DkM 413.

- 1 framūt āstēnītan ī hamāk argastān apar dēn māzdēsn ō
 2 uskār kart šāhpuhr <ī> šāhān šāh ī ōhrmazdān hamāk
 3 kišvarikān pat patkārīšn-vāzān āhōk kart hamāk gōḇišn ō
 4 uskār ut vičōlišn āḇurt pas hač bōxtan ī āturpāt
 5 pat gōḇišn ī passāxt apāk hamāk avešān yudt-ristakān
 6 nask ōsmurt ān-ič ī yudt-ristakān ēn-ič guft ku nūn kaḷ-
 7 mān dēn pat gētik bē dīt kas-ič aydēnik bē nē
 8 hišt vēš apar tuxšāk tuxšēm ut hamgōnak kart
 9 im bay husrau <ī> šāhān šāh <ī> kavātān čēgōn-aš ahramōyīh ut sā-
 10 stārīh spur-hamēstārīh vānīt ut pat paiḷākīh hač dēn andar harv
 11 ahramōyīh 4 pēšak ākāsīh ut uskārīšn ī yukānik vasiḥā
 12 bē apzūt ēn-ič pat yazdān-xratih guft ku rāstīh ī
 13 dēn māzdēsn bē dānast

APPENDIX VIII

An illustration of oral transmission before our extant manuscripts affecting the consonantal part of the text can be given from Vidēvdāt 2. At the same time a new interpretation of part of the Yama legend is won. To treat of the problem it is necessary to consider the whole legend of Yama in this chapter of the Vidēvdāt. A subordinate problem, that of *suwārā*, *sufrā*¹ (Vid. 2. 6, 10 ff.) had first to be solved. Of

¹ Alternation of *w* and *f* is found elsewhere, as in Y 28. 5 *xrawstrā*, *xrafstrāi*. Similarly we have *x* and *γ* in Yt 10. 4 *suxšēm*, Vid. 1. 4, *suyšēm* 'Sogdiana'.

earlier translations there is no lack. Darmesteter adopted 'seal-ring',¹ Bartholomae gave 'arrow',² Lommel has 'ring',³ Scheftelowitz proposed 'plough',⁴ and Hjalmar Frisk considered the meaning to be uncertain.⁵

I conceive the matter of the legend to be somewhat as follows. On the one hand Yama is a *rājan-* in the Indian tradition, and in the Iranian tradition possesses a *χšaθra* 'dominion'. Of this Vid. 2. 5 is an illustration:

<i>nōiṭ mana χšaθre bvaṭ aotō vātō</i>	In my kingdom shall be neither
<i>nōiṭ garemō nōiṭ aχtiš nōiṭ mahrkō</i>	cold wind nor hot, nor disease
	nor death.

But the thought of Yama's kingship has tended to obscure another more important aspect of his activity. He is a cattle-driver. He is *hvaθwa-*. When he accepts Ahura Mazda's commission to be the overseer of living beings, he is presented with two instruments, *zaya*, with which to rule them.

Vid. 2. 6:

<i>āaṭ hē zaya frabaram azəm yō ahurō</i>	Then I gave him, I who am Ahura
<i>mazdā</i>	Mazdah, two instruments,
<i>suwraqm zaranaēnīm</i>	a suwra of gold,
<i>aštraqmča zaranyō.paēšim</i>	and a gold-plated aštrā.

We learn, too, how these instruments are used: the activity is expressed by the Iranian *hav-*: *hū-* 'to drive cattle', a meaning equally attested for the corresponding Indian verb *sav-*: *sū-* in the Rgveda (1. 124. 1):

<i>devō no ātra savitā nu ārtham</i>	Now the god Savitar (cattle-driver)
<i>prāsāvid dvipāt prā cātuspad ityai</i>	has driven on our two-footed
	and four-footed ones to go to
	their activities.

One of the two instruments, the *aštrā*, is clear. It is a 'whip'. The verb at the base of it is *azati* 'he drives cattle'. We know also *aštrā* in the Indian texts.

If now we examine the passage Vid. 2. 10 describing Yama's actions with these two instruments, it will probably at once appear what is intended by *sufrā-*. We read:

¹ *Le Zend-Avesta* ii. 22 'sceau d'or', SBE 4. 13 'seal'.

² *Altir. Wb.* s.v., but the Pamir dialect word was an error.

³ *Zeits. für vergleich. Sprachforschung* 50. 267 ff.; *Die Yāst's des Avesta* (1927), 196 ff.

⁴ *Zeits. für Indologie u. Iran.* 2 (1923), 278.

⁵ *Zur indoiranischen und griechischen Nominalbildung* (1934), 19, note 1.

āaṭ yimō frašusaṭ
raoča ā upa rapithwam
hū paiti adwanam
hō imam zam aiwišvaṭ
suwrya zaranaēnya
avi dīm sifaṭ¹ aštraya uity aojanō

friḥa spanta ārmaite
frača šva viča namanha
barəθre pasvaqmča staoranqmča ma-
kyānaqmča
āaṭ yimō imam zam višāvayaṭ aēva
θrišva ahmāt masyehim yaḥa para
ahmāt

Then Yama went forth,
 to the lights at midday
 towards the sun.
 He drove on this earth
 with the golden suwra,
 he struck upon her with the whip,
 saying:
 beloved Spanta Ārmati,
 go forward and extend roundabout,
 for the bearing of small cattle and
 large, and of men.
 Then Yama made this earth extend
 by one-third more than it was
 before.

The same account is repeated three times in these words and on each occasion the earth is enlarged.

The *sufrā-* then is used in driving cattle. The earth herself, the mighty Ārmati, as if in human form,² is driven on like cattle or slave and so is induced to extend herself. It will at once appear that we have here the other instrument used in cattle-driving, the goad. Now we know that the goad was in fact one of the instruments of a cattle-driver among the early Iranians as at the present day. We read in Vid. 14. 10 of all the instruments of the pastoralist (which he must give in expiation) (*vispe zaya vāstryō fšuyqs . . . misirinuyāt*). Among these is the plough (*aēša*) and yoke, but also the *gavāzišta gavāzō* 'the best goad'. The word *gavāza-* allows no doubt as to its meaning, surviving in New Persian *gavāz* and *gavāza* 'goad for oxen or asses' (in Armenian also as *gavazan* but meaning simply a 'stick'), in which *-āza* is another derivative of the word *azati* 'he drives cattle'.

Accordingly I have no hesitation in recognizing in our present passage the two pastoral instruments the whip (*aštrā*) and the goad (*gavāza-*). Accordingly I propose to explain the word *sufrā-*, *suwra-* as a 'goad'. It is then exactly in place with the verb *aiwišvaṭ* 'he drove on'. It is necessary to see in *sufrā-* an instrument for driving cattle. If we wish to connect *sufrā-* with other words, we may point (as Scheftelowitz did with a different thought, the plough, in mind) to the Indo-Iranian *śaubh-*: *śubh-*, Pres. *śumbh-* attested in Sanskrit *ni-śumbha-* 'killing', Pali *sumbhati* 'push, strike' beside *sumhati*, Sogdian *swnp-*: *swft-* 'pierce' (SCE 89; Gram. sogd. ii. 17) and Mid. New Pers. *sumb-*: *suft-* 'pierce'.

¹ A base *saip-* appears in Pahl. *āsep-*, see BSOS ix. 231, and possibly Sogd. *wsyft-*.

² Just as the plant *haoma* may appear as a man (*nar-*).

For the meaning note the Latin *stimulus* 'goad' as the 'pricking instrument' (*stinguo* 'I prick') with Walde-Pokorny, *Vgl. Wb.* ii. 612.

Finally I may indicate that the Zoroastrian commentator rather unexpectedly failed to understand the allusion. His rendering of *sufrā-* by *sūlākōmand* 'having holes' is mere guessing from the sound. But it is repeated also by Zātspram *pat sūlākōmand ī zarrēn* (Zātspr. 35. 20).

We may now turn to the immediate problem. It lies in the word or words *varəfšva*, which occurs seven times and only in this second chapter of the Videvdāt.

It will be remembered—it will hardly be necessary to quote the whole text here—that Yama, following the instructions of Ahura Mazdā, had proceeded to the making of a *vara-*. From the description one would conjecture that this *vara-* was an estate, a *dastkart*,¹ with houses and stables, and fields (*maryā-*) to be cultivated, evidently for a settled population. Manuščihr even uses the word *būm* 'country' of it (Dd 36. 81):

<i>sardak ī būmān ēvak ī x^vānīhēt yam kart var</i>	The kinds of countries: one called the Var made by Yam, which by
<i>ī-š pat framān kart yam ī šēt (ē)</i>	divine command Yam, the royal,
<i>huramak ī vīvanghān</i>	possessor of good herds, son of Vivangh made.

I hope to show how it is possible to understand the passages where *varəfšva* occurs on the assumption of an oral transmission independent of a mechanical copy of a written text.

The passages must be considered in turn.

(1) Vid. 2. 28

<i>tē kərənava miθwaire aṣyamnəm</i>	make those couples to be unfailing
<i>ā ahmāt yaṭ aēte narō varəfšva anhən</i>	so long as these men are in the . . . (<i>varəfšva</i>). ²

This is repeated in 2. 36 in the past with *tē kərənaot* 'those he made in place of *tē kərənava*.

(2) Vid. 2. 39

<i>čayō āaṭ aēte raočā anhən</i>	how many then are these lights,
<i>ašāum ahura mazdah</i>	O Righteous Ahura Mazdah,
<i>yō avaba ā.raočayeite</i>	which there shine in these . . .
<i>aētaēšva varəfšva</i>	(<i>varəfšva</i>). ³
<i>yō yimō kərənaot</i>	which Yama made?

¹ On *dastkart*, see B. Geiger, WZKM 42. 114 ff.

³ Lommel: *wo diese Leuten in den Höhlen sind*.

² Lommel: *in diesen Höhlen*.

(3) Vid. 2. 41

<i>taēča narō sraēšta gaya jvainti</i>	and those men live the happiest
<i>aētaēšva varəfšva</i>	life in these . . . (<i>varəfšva</i>),
<i>yō yimō kərənaot</i>	which Yama made.

(4) Vid. 2. 42

<i>kō avaba daēnəm māzdayasnīm</i>	Who spread the Mazdayasnian faith
<i>vī.baraṭ</i>	there, in those . . . (<i>varəfšva</i>)
<i>aētaēšva varəfšva yō yimō kərənaot</i>	which Yama made?

In these five passages I propose to see quite simply a word O.Iran. *vrp-* in Avestan spelling *varəp-* (or *vəhrp-*, as *kəhrp-* nom. sg. *hukərəfš*) 'enclosure'. The base of *vrp-* is known also in Avestan *fraorəpō* (O.Iran. **fra-varpa-*) which is found in Yašt 19. 2, parallel to *gari-* 'mountain':

<i>ahmaṭ hača garayō fraoxšayən</i>	Thence the mountains grew,
<i>usiḍā uši.darəno ərəzifyasča fraorəpō</i>	Ušiḍā, Uši.darəna, and the range (?) ərəzifya.

In Sanskrit occurs *vārpas-* 'form'. With this outside Indo-Iranian we may compare Agnean *wārp-* 'to surround, enclose', Kuchean *wārp* 'to enclose', which could represent Indo-Eur. **werp-* or **werbh-*. But there is no difficulty in assuming an Indo-Eur. *wer-p-* from the base *wer-* in Skt. *vyṇóti* and the like.

I should understand *varəp-* then as a general term for the parts of the *vara*, the houses and stables (*nmāna* and *gavayana*) constructed within it.¹

In the two remaining passages a different word must be found.

(1) Vid. 2. 30

<i>taoxma upa.bara . . .</i>	Bring the seeds . . .
<i>aiwiča tē varəfšva</i>	with the golden goad,
<i>suwrya zaranaēnya</i>	and put to the enclosure
<i>apiča təm varəm marəza</i>	a gate, a place for light,
<i>dvarəm raočanəm</i>	shining by itself within. ²
<i>x^vā.raoxšnəm antarə.naēmāt</i>	

This is later reported in the past tense:

(2) Vid. 2. 39

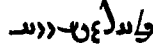
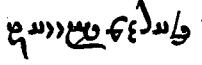


<i>aiwiča hō varəfšva</i>	with golden goad
<i>suwrya zaranaēnya</i>	

¹ Hertel, *Die Himmelstore*, 62 ff., who followed Bartholomae (*Altir. Wb.* s.v.) in adopting a verb *varp-* 'mit einem Zeichen versehen' in 30, solved the other passages by declaring them interpolations (therein convincing Hillebrandt, *Asia Major*, 1. 792). Both thought the loc. plur. *varəfšva* must be explained from *var(a)-*.

² Lommel: '*Dazu geh auch du in die Höhle*', assuming a text with *tūm varəm šva*.

apiča hō varəm marəzaṭ
dvarəm raočanəm
χ^oā.raoxšnam antarə.anēmāṭ

and he put to the enclosure,
a gate, a place for light,
shining by itself within.

From the manuscript readings I may note, though they have no importance, that L 1 in both places reads  varəšva, and that L 4 a reads in 38  with  corrected prima manu to .


My own proposal here is somewhat more complicated. In Vid. 2. 30 I propose to read:

aiwiča tē varə(m)-f-šva

and to render 'drive them (the embryonic men and women personified) to the Vara'.

In Vid. 2. 38 I would read:

aiwiča hō varə(m)-f-švaṭ

That is to be rendered: 'he drove to the Vara'. I lay no stress upon the  which the MS. L 4 a has, and which is added secunda manu in P 2, except to note that the writers had felt the need of a past form of the verb.

We saw in Vid. 2. 10 the word *aiwišvaṭ* 'he drove on'.¹ This is precisely what the context requires here also. The *taoxma* 'seeds' are personified and can therefore be equally the object of the act of driving like cattle, as the earth also was driven when personified.

The interest from the point of view of oral transmission will not be missed. According to this interpretation the transitional sound -f- has been developed orally between *m* and *š*, and has eventually displaced the *m*. I would naturally also recognize that the *varəšva* loc. pl. of *varp-* has worked upon these two passages. For the intrusive -f-, we may note the case of *duždaqədrō* or *duždaqm.fədrō* 'ill-breathing, asthmatic' (Vid. 9. 43, explained in BSOS vi. 597), where -f- appears more normally between *m* and *δ* within a word, whereas in the present passage it is a case of external phonetic change.

The change of **varəm šva* to *varəšva* precedes our manuscripts. It presupposes some not remote period of oral transmission.

¹ The *š* is due to the *aiwi* of the compound.

ADDENDA

THE long gestation of this book has made the following brief Addenda necessary.

1. P. 2. In the Brāhmī script of an Indian inscription occurs *pharna* in the name *Hora-murṇḍa-pharna* (see recently Lüders, *Acta Orient.* 16 (1937-8), 24). In the Kharoṣṭhī texts from Chinese Turkestan *phara* is found in *Tiraphara* and *Cinaphara*, see Burrow, BSOS vii. 515, and in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Kabul *vharna* occurs in *Tiravharnasa* (Konow, *Acta Orient.* 16. 240). The phonetic value of the character transliterated *vh* is not certain.
2. P. 5. Reichelt, 'Soghdisches', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, 4 (1926), 250, compares Sogdian 'nṛ'nt, 'nṛ'mn'y with Avestan *gram-*.
3. P. 8. Georgian *kurtak-i* 'shirt' is found in the Vep'χis Tqaosani 542 (in the numbering of M. Wardrop): *jač'vi mecva sakurtake* 'my coat of mail protected me'. On Tabasaran *kkurt* 'shirt' and other Caucasian forms, see Trubetskoy, *Mélanges van Ginneken* (1937), 117-18.
4. P. 11. *nēvak* and *nēvak-kart* translate Av. χ^oanvant-.
5. P. 11. With *fraša.vaxšya-* cf. also Rgveda i. 18. 8 *prāñcam kṛnoti*, and O.Pers. *frašam* (NRb2) = Babyl. *bu-nu* 'beauty, goodness, glory'.
6. P. 13. Note *śrī* in connexion with the sun, Rgveda i. 122. 2 *śūryasya śrīyā* 'with the splendour of the sun'.
7. P. 15. Add also Skt. *śund-* 'growth, luck' from the IE. **keu-*.
8. P. 15. Av. *aχ^oādre* (Vid. 18. 30, voc. sg. fem.) is rendered by Pahlavi *aχ^oārih ku-t nēvakih čān-ič hačš nēst* 'distress, that is, for you no good fortune arises therefrom'.
9. P. 19. Pisani in *Rivista d. studi orient.* 15 (1934-5), 362 explained the syntax of Yašt 7. 24 *mānham raoxšne tāpayeiti* as an impersonal construction 'it makes the moon to shine with light'.
10. P. 23. Note the importance also of *śravas* 'fame' in the Rgveda i. 9. 7 *prthū śrávo bṛhāt* 'wide lofty fame', i. 9. 8 *śrávo bṛhād dyumnám sahasrasātanam* 'fame great splendid, winning a thousandfold', i. 40. 4 *ákṣiti śrávaḥ* 'imperishable fame', i. 79. 4 *máhi śrávaḥ* 'great fame'.
11. P. 25. Emphasis is similarly expressed in Herodotos 6. 98 *κινήσω καὶ Δῆλον ἀκίνητόν περ εὐόσαν* and in the *asahyasāham* 'overcoming the invincible' of the *Suparnādhyaṃ*, 3. 1.

12. P. 34. Add a reference to Tavadia's discussion of Vid. 5. 9 in the *Zeitschrift f. Indol. u. Iranistik*, 8. 127.
13. P. 38. To the Armenian evidence must be added Armen. *t'souar* (*t's* < *duš*-) and *çouar* (*ç* = *t's*) 'unfortunate' (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 154). This is the antithesis of *baχtauor* and *p'araur*. So in 2 Maccabees 14. 14 the Greek τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεφυγότες τὸν Ἰούδαν ἔθνη συνέμισχον ἀγελήδον τῇ Νικάνορι, τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀτυχίας καὶ συμφορὰς ἰδίας εὐημερίας δοκοῦντες ἔσεσθαι is rendered into Armenian by: *ayn or i hrēastanē anti azgk'n p'axstakan gnačēal ēin vasn youday, gayin paraktealk', eu andēn χαιρῆν i goundn nikanovray, zhrēiçn t'souarout'iun iureanc p'araurout'iun hamarēn*. Here *t'souarout'iun* = ἀτυχία and its antithesis *p'araurout'iun* = εὐημερία.
14. P. 39. Add a reference to M. Rostovtzeff, 'Le Gad de Doura et Seleucus Nicator' in *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* (1939).
15. P. 40. The Semitic 'light of the countenance' is mentioned by Vajda, *Rivista degli studi orientali*, 1937, 226 quoting the Hebrew פֶּנִּים אֹרֶךְ of Psalm 4. 4.
16. P. 45. For the meaning of Skt. *tejas*, see Vogel, *Het sanskrit woord tejas* (= *gloed, vuur*) in *de beteekenis van magische kracht* (1930).
17. P. 52. Three other Khotanese survivals from Old Iranian should be added here. The word *dyūva*- 'demon' < O.Iran. **daiva*- occurs in the phrase of the *Suvarṇabhāsa* (Or 9609, 4 v 7 of which the edition is in the press in *Khotanese Texts I*; it was quoted BSOS x. 916) *dyūvānu ūśahānu mātā* 'mother of the strength-robbing demons' translating Skt. *bhūta-mātā*. The two other words occur together in P 2787. 27 *mala ttraiḥkha sūmīra gārṇā rāmda ttaira haraysā baidū* 'on the Mala peak of the king of mountains Sumeru, the Taira Haraysa', and the second also in P 2787. 27 *ākāśa-maṇḍāla harāysa vī gāisadai* 'the circle of the air turning on the Haraysa'. That is the Av. *taēra*- and the *harā bərəz*-.
18. P. 52. Khotanese *bāsa*, loc. sing., 'in the wood' renders a Skt. reading *vane*, in place of *bhavane*, to which Khotanese *bīsa* 'in the house' would correspond.
19. P. 54. Sogdian *prn* occurs also in T1 α (quoted by Henning, *Sogdica*, p. 62): *ZKw ry'nty' prn* βyr 'he attained the rank of an arhant'.
20. P. 55. For the Turkish use of *qut* 'fortune', add also *sirigini qut tngri xatuni* 'Śrī the goddess of good fortune' in the Uigur *Suvarṇabhāsa* (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [i], 28). Here it renders Chinese 大吉祥 'great fortune'. In *Sākiz Yükmäk* (*Türk. Turfan-Texte*,

- vi), 157 occurs *burqan qutūn* 'rank of a Buddha'; *Türk. Turfan-Texte*, iv. 15 *qut bulmaduq midik prtiḡčan tīnlylar* 'lay beings who have attained no position', and *qutqa tägmädük midik prtagčan tīnlylari*; ibid. iv. 19 *iduq qutluy* 'ārya', that is, the highest of the four positions; ibid. iv. 17 in the *Suvarṇabhāsa*: *tört türlüg qutqa tägmüş tüzünlär* 'the āryas who have attained the four positions'. In the Codex Comanicus *kutlu* renders 'benedictus' (see Bang, *Zur Kritik des Codex Cumanicus* (1910), verses 4 and 7 with p. 13 notes 1 and 3). In Mongol correspondingly *qutug* in *dayin-i darigsan-u qutug* 'the position of arihan'; and in *burqan-u qutug* 'the position of a buddha' (Kowalewski, *Dictionary*, i. 918). Note also Kalmyk *хут* 'G' 'glücklichkeit, heiligkeit' in Ramstedt's *Kalm. Wörterbuch*.
21. P. 57. Kuchean *perne* occurs also in the tale of Ambara: < *pañā* > *ktāmñe perneš ritorment* 'having attained the position of a buddha' (*rit* = Skt. *yog*- 'join'), see S. Lévi, *Festschrift V. Thomsen*, 1. 3. Sieg in his edition of the *Karmavibhanga* has rendered *pelaiknentse pernesa* by 'um des Gesetzes willen'. We have also *pañāktāmñe pernešse vyākarit* 'prophecy concerned with the position of a buddha' (van Windekens, *De indo-europese Bestanddeelen in de tocharische Declinatie*, 1. 4). Similarly in Agnean 398 b 3 *srotāpattune parām* 'the position of srotāpatti'; 43 b 4 *parām kälpo* 'having attained the rank'; 80 a 1 *ārantiṣparām* 'rank of arhant'. Note also 280 b 3 *koṃ űkätt oki parnoreyo* 'having hvarnah like the sun god'.
22. P. 62. Note the association of *farrah* with brilliance in Firdausi, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers, i, p. 21, verse 26:
čunān šāh pālūda gašt az badī
ki tābīd z-ō farrah-i izādī.
- Al-Tha'libī (*Ghurar aḥbār*, ed. Zotenberg, p. 7) writing of Ṭahmūrath combined good fortune with splendour
 وشعاع السعادة الإلهية الذي يقال له بالفارسية فرا يزدي
 'and the splendour of good fortune, divine, which is called in Persian *farā izādī*'.
23. P. 63. For the mystic light of Muḥammad, see Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds*, p. 30, quoting also Söderblom.
24. P. 63. In the *Nihāyatu 'l-irab*, described by E. G. Browne (JRAS, 1900, 222) the Persian افرد خره *afzud xurrahī* is explained by Arabic ازداد كرامة where *xurrahī* = *karāmah* 'honour'.
25. P. 63. Vullers s.v. خره quotes from the *Burhān i qāṭi* of Muḥammad Ḥusain ibn Khalaf al-Tabrizī the definition of *xurrah* as a

- light (*nūr*): *va az in nūr ānci xāšš bāšad ba-pādšāhān i buzurg i 'ādil fā'iz gardad va ānrā kayā-farraḥ gūyand*.
26. P. 64. On the nimbus, see also E. Drouin, 'The nimbus and signs of deification on the coins of the Indo-Scythian kings' (*Indian Antiquary*, 32, 427 ff.).
27. P. 65. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (1914), writing of the seated Ardoxšo suggested that 'it is possibly to Roman solidi with a seated figure of Abundantia that this type is to be traced'.
28. P. 66. The pre-Christian theories of the *logos*, of Herakleitos of Ephesus, of Philo, and of the Stoics (see Hastings's *Encycl. Relig. and Ethics* s.v. 'Alexandrian Theology') must not be forgotten but probably only a missionary faith would have spread the doctrine to the East.
29. P. 70. The disyllabic spelling *sūvar* is in the Taittiriya-saṃhitā (see Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* i. 201).
30. P. 71. Corresponding to Khotanese *-hurs-* we have in Ossetic, Digor *iḫuārsun*, past *iḫuārst*, 'accept'; Iron *āxxursyn*, from **vi-hvar-s-*.
31. P. 72. The Skt. word to compare with *anīhvarra* 'inapprehensible' is naturally *agrāhya*, although no bilingual passage has yet been found. Cf. in the *Samādhirāja* (ed. Régamey 23. 50):
agrāhyah sarvasatvehi na pramāṇena grhyate
tathā hi kāyo buddhasya apramāṇo acintiyah
 'Inapprehensible by all beings, it is not apprehended by measure, so truly is the Buddha's body, immeasurable inconceivable'. Note also in the *Kamahāyāna* (ed. and transl. Wulff, p. 25, verse 17) *agrāhyānabhilāpyaś ca* 'nicht fassbar noch in Worten auszudrücken'.
32. P. 78. Similarly A. Christensen would put the Pandnāmak of Buzurgmihr in the ninth century: '300 years' after the Sasanian period (*Acta Orient.* 8. 109).
33. P. 81. Does the *kērōkīh* here correspond to the Arabic *صناعة*, which was used, together with its adjective *صنعي*, of the art of alchemy (*Führer*, ed. Flügel, 311; 351; Klamroth, ZDMG 41 (1887), 417)?
34. P. 82. With the phrase *star-ōšmār* 'star-counter', cf. also Syriac *mn' kwkb'* 'counters of stars' (Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great* (1889), Glossary, p. 223). The Georgian expression is similar: *varskolavt'-mric'xvelt'a* 'of the astrologers' in *Balahvar da Iodasap'* (Marr, *Zapiski vost. otdel.* iii, 1888, p. 231).
35. P. 85. H. H. Schaefer proposed *Abā Laiθ* in place of *Abāliš* in *Iranische Beiträge*, p. 287.

36. P. 85. The chief physician, the *ērān druvis-pat* of the Dēnkart, is called *bšškapet ark'ouni* 'royal chief physician' by Sebēos (ed. Constantinople, p. 189).
37. P. 87. On Muslim libraries see the paper by R. S. Mackensen in the *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.* 50 (1934), 114-25 and (1935) 22-3; 104-10, 'Background of the History of Moslem Libraries'.
38. P. 87. For the phrase *ahrav bavēt*, note also Pahlavi Rivayat Dd 7. 4 (p. 8) *ut kē marg-aržān kaš o dāt <i>vēh-dēnān āyēt pat giyāk ahrav bavēt* 'and he who is worthy of death when he comes to the law of the orthodox, at once becomes ahrav; ibid. p. 54, l. 6 *ut-aš andar kāričār bē ōšanēnd ahrav bavēt* 'and they slay him in battle, he becomes ahrav'.
39. P. 87. Henning has now (BSOS x. 506) proposed to explain O.Pers. *a r t a č a* as equivalent to Gathic Av. *ašāt hačā*.
40. P. 95. *aškandan* renders Av. *skamb-*: *fra-skamb- frāč aškandan*.
41. P. 96. *ašvēnak* 'mirror' occurs also in Pahlavi Rivayat Dd, p. 110, § 1.
42. P. 97. If *sōh-* be read, one may explain it by Av. *θrav* (Bartholomae, *Altir. Wb.* s.v. *θrav*²-): *s-* = *θr-* is known in some certain examples as N.Pers. *sih* 'three', Av. *θrāyō*. This *θrav-* 'be in contact with' would suit both Pahlavi and Avestan passages. The form *sōh-* may then be either (1) *sō-h-* with *-h-* as in Pāzand *stuh*, *stōh*, N.Pers. *sutūh* beside Pahl. *stwb* **stav*, *stavēnitan*, that is, secondary insertion; or (2) *sōh-* may be denominative from an O.Iran. **θravaba-*, as perhaps also in Pahl. *škōh* < **skavaba-*. Or since 'rub' and 'touch' are nearly allied ought one to seek a connexion with Pahl. *sūtan* 'to rub'?
43. P. 102. It is possible that *پژو*, Pāzand *padar-*, is an inverse pseudo-historic spelling of *pahr-* for *par-* (cf. *zwhr* for *zwr* **zōr*, p. 92). Then the word is to be compared with N.Pers. *parmās* 'touch', *parmāsīdan*. Cf. also Henning on Manich. Sogdian *pcmrwsyy* (*Manich. Bet- u. Beichtbuch*, p. 80). In the Pahlavi a form **pahrmāh-* may have become **pahrmāy-* or the spelling may be defective for **pahrmās-*.
44. P. 106. Cf. GrBd 22. 1 *ut-aš hač rōšnih ut zargōnih <i>asmān šusr <i>martōmān gāvān frāč brēhēnūt* 'and from the brightness and yellow colour of the sky the sperm of men and cattle was created'.
45. P. 107. Pāzand has *fravahr*, *fravahar* and Parsi-Persian *farōhar*.
46. P. 110. According to the treatise *Ulamā i Islām* (ed. Unvālā, *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat*, ii, p. 84, last two lines) the *ruvān* is denied to animals, birds, and fishes: *va čahār-pāy va murγ va māhi išān rā ruvān nabūd va minū i čahār-gūna bāx išān pavandad bad-ān sabab išān rā šumār va hisāb nīst ki išān ruvān va farōhar nadārand*.

47. P. 110. Al-Bairūnī has in Arabic كركن for Skt. *khadgadanta* and كرك for Skt. *khadga* (Sachau, *Indo-Arabische Studien*, Abhand. Berl. Akad. Wiss. 1888).
48. P. 113. In a Manichean Persian fragment occurs *hwnyw'z'n* **hunivāzān* (Henning, *Ein manich. Henochbuch*, p. 4, note 7: 'Musikanten').
49. P. 114. The *rasan-bāz* 'rope-dancer' is found in Jāmi's *Yūsuf u Zulaiḫā*, canto 3. 17. In Minūcihrī i. 5 (ed. Kazimirski) the *bāzīgār ba-čānbarhā* 'acrobats in circles' are mentioned.
50. P. 115. The passage SGV 12. 16 is in a Christian context.
51. Pp. 116, 155. The name انوشجان *Anōš-jān* is given to a marzbān in the *Nihāyatu 'l-irab* (JRAS 1900, 233).
52. P. 125. -ak = -ang occurs also in Armen. *čatrak* 'chess' (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 188). Add also DkM 781. 4 *ayōkkustik ut sagik anē-č yām* 'of metal, of stone, and also glass'.
53. P. 134. On Pāzand *χāmast*, Parsi-Persian خامست, see Bartholomae, *Sas. Rechtsbuch*, 21 note.
54. P. 137. Similar use of the Aramaic and Iranian together occurs in DkM 456. 15 ܡܠܝܬܐ *MLYA ut saḫ'an*.
55. P. 137. *dālman* may represent a Persian form with *d-* of the word found in the Avestan phrase *kahrkāsō zaranumainiš*, if we can accept *āl < arn*.
56. P. 153. Seven kinds of writing are mentioned in the Dāstān ī mēnōk i ʔrāt 26. 23: *haft advēnak nīpēk ī dipīrīh*.
57. P. 155. I propose to read this difficult Pahlavi word *šasapikān*, written defectively *ša<sa>pikān*, and to explain it as follows. In the Dēnkart 437. 20 (quoted on p. 154) is named the *ganj ī ʔatāyān* 'treasury of the lords'. In Armenian, in Sebēos (ed. Constantinople, p. 193) we find: *isk z-patčēn outiḥ ʔostovanout'ean ark'ay Xosrov hramayeač knk'el iurov mataneau eu tal i ganjs ark'ouni* 'but the king Khosrov ordered to seal the true copy of the Confession with his own seal and to deposit it in the royal treasury'. A similar expression, possibly a reminiscence of Persian usage, is used of the Alexandrian Library by Abū 'l-Faraj ibn al-'Ibrī (Barhebraeus) in his *Book of Dynasties* (*al-muḫtaṣar fī 'l-duwal*, ed. Pococke, 1663, p. 181): *fī ʔazā'in al-mulūkiyyah* rendered by Pococke in *gazophylaciū [bibliothecis] regiū*. This passage is discussed by R. S. Mackensen in the *Amer. Journ. of Semitic Lang.* 50 (1934), 121. Hence we have as a term for the Royal Library of the Sasanian kings *ganj ī ʔatāyān* = Armen. *ganjs ark'ouni* (= Arab. *ʔazā'in al-mulūkiyyah*). The unexplained Pahlavi words should correspond

- in meaning. If we read *šasapikān* we have the Persian form *šasap-* of the O.Pers. *ʔšassapāvan-* Gr. *σαρπάτης*, which survives in the Mid. Parth. form in Armen. *šahap* 'οικονόμος, Stadtpfleger' (Hübschmann, *Armen. Gram.* 208). This gives *šas- < O.Pers. ʔšassa*, Av. *ʔšabra*. The form *šasapik-* will then be adjectival, used later as a noun (for *-ikān*, cf. also *vēhikān*, Bartholomae, *Mitteliran. Mundarten*, ii. 23 ff.).
58. P. 161. Pahl. *rās ut ristak* occurs in the Vahman Yašt (K 20, 134 v 4).
59. P. 171. The theory of *aspārənō* = *ασπρον* appears as an assured result in E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, i. 152.
60. P. 177. Morgenstierne has now discussed the Avestan spelling in 'Orthography and Sound-system of the Avesta', *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, 12 (1940), 30 ff.
61. P. 178. For *rt > š* in Pahlavi script add *vāš* 'chariot' (Dāstān ī dēnik 30. 2), Av. *vāša-*.
62. P. 178. Louis H. Gray has re-examined the problem of *rt, š*: 'On Avesta *š* = *ART, RT*, *oi* = *AI* and *Ā* = *Ā(H)*' in the *Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Soc.* 61. 101-4.
63. P. 189. Note that in Pahlavi script 𐭪 is used for Av. *ξ* in Pahlavi Rivayat Dd, p. 162, ll. 4, 5, 6, 7, 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *arəzūr* and in the common 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 *arədv-sūr* (ibid. p. 190, l. 5), Av. *arədvī sūra*.

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